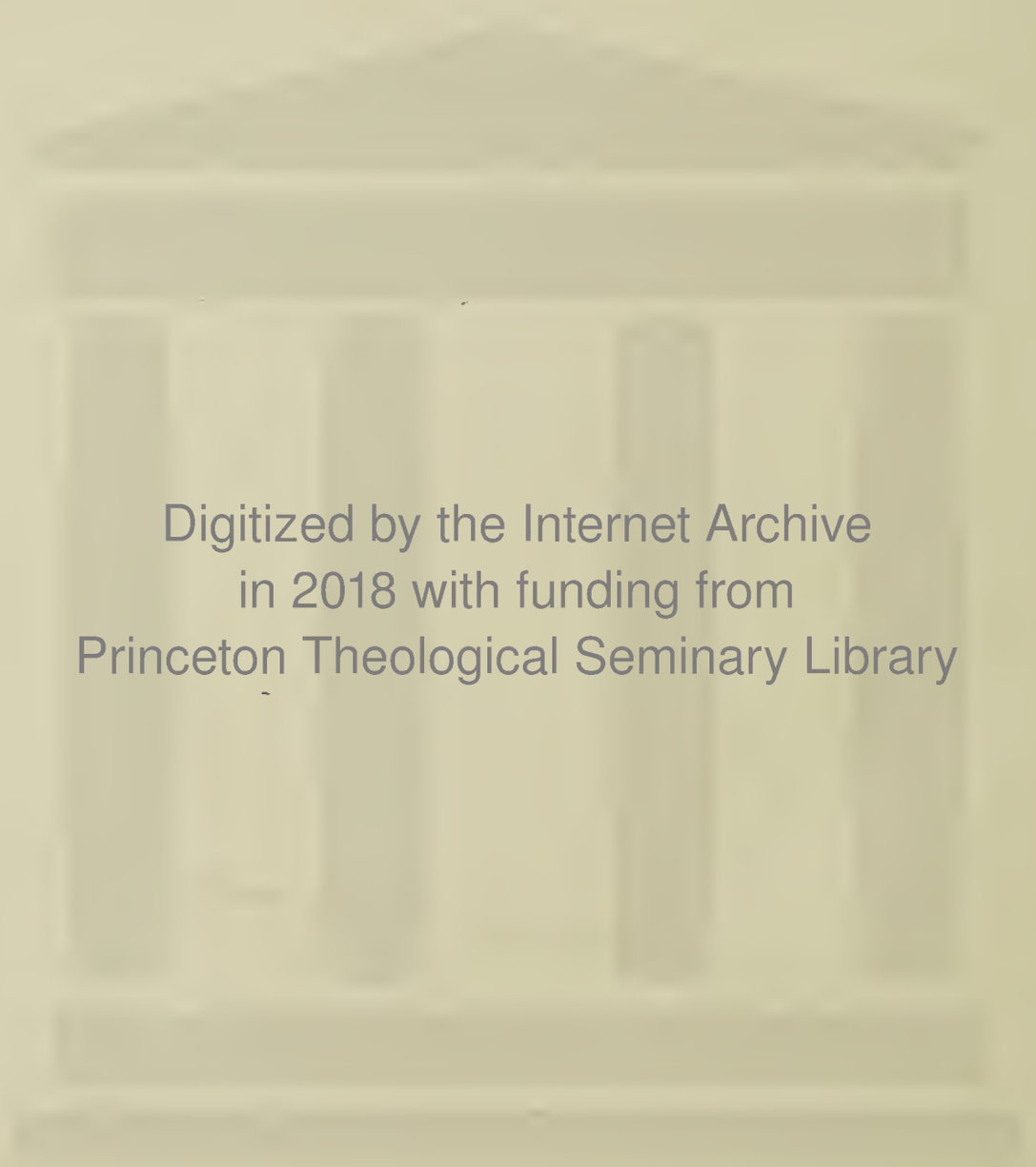

REPORT

OF THE

FIFTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE

ON

INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION

MAY 19th, 20th AND 21st

1909

REPORTED BY MISS LILIAN D. POWERS
EDITED BY THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

PUBLISHED BY THE
LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION
1909

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OF THE

FIFTEENTH ANNUAL LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION, MAY 19-21, 1909

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PREFACE

The Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration was held in the parlor of the Lake Mohonk Mountain House, May 19th, 20th and 21st, 1909. More than three hundred members were in attendance as the invited guests of Mr. Albert K. Smiley. Six sessions were held, the proceedings of which—consisting of discussions of the present status of International Arbitration, of an international court, of the education of public opinion, of work in colleges and universities and among business men, and of other allied subjects—are given, nearly in full, in this Report.

In recognition of the sentiment mentioned in the preface of the last report, opportunity was provided for discussion of limitation of armaments. References to this subject occur in many of the addresses and in the Platform of the Conference.

The management of the Conference, while providing opportunity for free discussion of matters not foreign to the purpose of the meeting, assumes no responsibility for individual opinions printed herein.

One copy of this Report is sent to each member of the Conference and several thousand copies are mailed to individuals in public and private life, to libraries and to other institutions. Applications for copies should be addressed to the Corresponding Secretary of the Conference.

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PLATFORM

OF THE

FIFTEENTH ANNUAL LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION, 1909

(The Platform is the official utterance of the Conference and embodies only those principles on which the members unanimously agreed.—Ed.)

The Fifteenth Annual Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration, meeting on the tenth anniversary of the opening of the first Hague Conference, reviews with profound satisfaction the signal advance of the cause of international justice during the decade, a progress unexampled in any previous period in history. The memorable achievements of this period are at once an inspiration and an imperative call to renewed effort.

We urge upon our Government, which has been so conspicuously and so honorably identified with the progressive policies of The Hague, prompt action toward perfecting the important measures there inaugurated and the complete development of the system of arbitration. We especially urge its early initiative in the establishment of the International Court of Arbitral Justice.

We further urge the negotiation of a general treaty of arbitration between all nations, and look forward with increasing hope to the day when treaties of arbitration shall provide for the reference to The Hague of all international differences not settled by regular diplomatic negotiation.

The clear logic of the Hague conventions prescribes the limitation and gradual reduction of the machinery of war by the nations parties to those conventions, corresponding to the development of the instrumentalities of law and justice for the settlement of international differences. The great armaments of the nations, whose intolerable burdens prompted the call to the first Hague Conference, have during the decade increased so portentously as to have now become, as recently declared by the British Foreign Secretary, a satire upon civilization. They fill the world with apprehension and alarm; they create an atmosphere unfavorable to the system of arbitration; and their drain upon the resources

of the peoples has become so exhausting as to menace all national treasuries and disastrously check the social reforms and advances which the interests of humanity demand. It is the opinion of this Conference that the time has arrived for carrying into effect the strongly expressed desire of the two Peace Conferences at The Hague that the governments "examine the possibility of an agreement as to the limitation of armed forces by land and sea, and of war budgets" and address themselves to the serious study of this pressing question. Accordingly we ask our Government to consider whether the peculiar position which it occupies among the nations does not afford it a special opportunity to lead the way toward making these weighty declarations a basis of public and concerted action.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY DELEGATES PRESENT FROM BUSINESS ORGANIZATIONS.

(Forty-three prominent commercial bodies were represented at the Conference. The delegates from these bodies, a list of whom will be found page 95, united in the adoption of the following resolution.—Ed.)

Resolved, That the representatives of the organized business interests of the country, assembled at the fifteenth annual meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration, desire to again express their hearty endorsement of the broad and beneficent purposes of the conference, as expressed in its many utterances favoring international arbitration in the settlement of disputes between nations, to the end that war, with all its horrors, may be avoided, and trade and commerce may be protected from its blighting effect.

The rivalry among civilized nations for increased armaments is greatly to be deprecated.

We believe the time has come in which nations should depend upon justice.

Therefore, we advise that nations trust to arbitration rather than force, to courts rather than arms, for the adjustment of international disputes.

We urge upon the President of the United States taking the initiative in leading the nations to a concurrent, proportionate reduction in the armies and navies of the world.

THE FIFTEENTH ANNUAL LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION

First Session

Wednesday Morning, May 19, 1909

The Fifteenth Annual Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration met in the parlor of the Lake Mohonk House on the 19th of May, 1909, at 10 o'clock in the morning. The meeting was called to order by Mr. ALBERT K. SMILEY, the host of the Conference, who, in welcoming his guests, said:

OPENING REMARKS OF MR. ALBERT K. SMILEY

The Fifteenth Annual Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration will please come to order.

I do not intend to make an address, as it would not be fair to succeeding speakers for me to go into details. I do want to say, however, in opening this Conference that not only am I especially pleased to welcome so large a number of eminent men and women, but that I am very optimistic concerning recent events in their bearing on world peace. Never before, it seems to me, has there been so close a bond of sympathy and good will between nations. The reference of so many new cases to the Hague Tribunal, the work of Secretary Root in negotiating arbitration treaties, the plans to determine our Canadian boundary, the settlement of a case by the Central American Court of Justice, the peaceful solution of the Balkan situation, our remission of nearly $12,000,000 of the Chinese indemnity, the great world wave of sympathy and generosity following the Sicilian earthquake—all these and many other events are exceedingly hopeful; and whatever its ethical or legal side, it is a highly encouraging sign of a growing world sentiment when a man like the late President Castro of Venezuela is prevented from returning to further exploit his country and to defy the world. I am gratified by the results of the great Peace Congress just closed in Chicago and of the Naval Conference of London, as well as by the growing activity of all the best peace societies. There seems to be a gain in everything that tends toward the submission of

international differences to arbitration, and I believe that more and more of the nations will avail themselves of this means of settlement and that there will be a corresponding decrease in the number of wars.

On the other hand, I exceedingly deplore the fact that some of our great nations, our own among them, are so rapidly increasing their armaments. No one wishes more than I that armies and navies might be largely done away with, and no one appreciates more keenly the economic distress which great armaments impose on the people. I have given the matter much thought, but heartily as I deplore the situation, I must admit that I see little hope of early relief and little prospect of reaching an international agreement on a definite plan of limitation unless it may be, indeed, that the very excesses we now deplore may entail such burdens that the people will rise and demand of their governments that some means be found to check the tremendous outlay. There is one ray of hope—I have often thought of it—that may help to solve this difficult problem. It is this: For some strong nation to take the initiative and a decided step in the line of reduction of armaments. Of all the nations there is only one that could take this initiative and that is the United States, the richest and the strongest nation in the world, separated by two wide oceans from other naval powers. This nation has in comparatively recent times by mere moral force achieved many things of great international importance. Our Canadian boundary and its freedom from soldiers and warships is one of the first examples of this kind. In more recent years we have seen the peaceful influence of the United States in averting the proposed partition of the Chinese Empire. The Russo-Japanese war came to an end largely through the efforts of our President, backed by American public sentiment. The present prosperous condition and the amicable relations between the nations of North and South America, and the great success of the Pan-American conferences bear witness to the moral force of the United States in maintaining her great national doctrine. It is well known that the establishment of the Hague Tribunal at the first Hague conference was due in large part to the unceasing efforts of the American Delegation under the lead of that great statesman, our former Ambassador to Germany—Dr. Andrew D. White—who is with us to-day. It was mainly the influence of this country that secured the participation of all the American states in the second Hague conference and brought about the adoption of the Porter proposition, putting an end to the unrestricted use of armed force in the collection of contract debts. The United States stands at the head of the nations in its advocacy of upright and frank diplomacy, and its reputation in this respect has been built up through years of peace marred only by one or two

small wars that never ought to have occurred. A small standing army, and for most of the time a small navy, have been quite sufficient to maintain our position in the world's affairs. If to-day, with this record behind it, the United States were to take some lead, even if a modest one, in the direction of checking or lessening its expenditures for armaments, I think it would be not only a generous but a politic thing to do. It would certainly be most gratifying to me to see our country take the initiative in this matter. (Applause.)

We have not in the past considered the subject of limitation of armament directly within the scope of the Mohonk Conference, but I am very glad to furnish opportunity for its discussion at this meeting. We are this morning to have a paper by Dr. George W. Kirchwey, a member of the American Commission appointed by the Berne Peace Bureau for the systematic study of the subject. Following his address there will be opportunity for discussion which I hope will be free and yet courteous. Of course, whatever our individual views, it would be ill-advised in a conference like this to make any attack upon the army and navy of this or any other particular nation, but I hope we will have a good discussion from the international viewpoint; that is, from the point of view which an international conference would be forced to adopt. We will do far more to influence future conferences at The Hague if in considering these subjects we place ourselves so far as possible under the limitations they cannot avoid.

I want also to mention briefly one or two lines of work with which our correspondence brings us into close touch. The report of our Committee on Colleges and Universities at a later session will show that two-thirds of the colleges and universities of this country have come into active cooperation with us. It seems to me difficult to overestimate the value of leading so many of the young men and women in our colleges to hear and investigate the great facts of the peace movement, and I want to see this work among colleges go on.

I have, too, been greatly interested in the Pugsley Prize. You will remember that last year Mr. C. D. Pugsley, a Harvard student, voluntarily gave fifty dollars to be offered by the Conference for the best essay on international arbitration by a college student. The prize brought out fifty essays, most of them excellent, and if it meant nothing more, the mere investigation of the subject by fifty students was worth many times what the prize cost in money and labor. Mr. Pugsley, showing a splendid spirit, has offered one hundred dollars for a similar prize next year, and we ought to accept it with sincere thanks.

I need not repeat what I have so often said concerning the hearty cooperation with the Conference of the business organi-

zations. They have as usual been doing excellent work during the year, and some fifty of them have delegates with us, some of them coming from such distant cities as Winnipeg, Seattle, and Jacksonville,—a manifestation of interest which cannot be too much appreciated.

For the information of those who have not attended former conferences, I wish to say that our work is not confined to these meetings. We have a permanent office in charge of a secretary, through which, during the entire year, we correspond extensively with the public. We have about two hundred official Correspondents in different parts of the country who are doing splendid work in their respective communities, and we try to keep the public informed as much as possible by correspondence, literature and articles concerning the progress of the movement. I hope you will all help us by keping in touch with the office and offering information and suggestions at any time. We shall always be glad to hear from you.

To preside over our meetings this year, we are very fortunate in having a man nationally and internationally known as an educator of the highest order, the President of the American Branch of the great Association for International Conciliation, and who has grown into one of the best known peace workers of the country. I have great pleasure in presenting as President of this Conference, Dr. NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER, President of Columbia University. (Applause.)

OPENING ADDRESS OF DR. NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER, CHAIRMAN.

Two years ago when I last had the honor of addressing this Conference as its presiding officer, we were all looking forward with confidence and high anticipation to the second Hague Conference, then soon to assemble. We were much concerned with the program of business to be laid before that Conference, and with the forms of agreement or declaration which we hoped would there be decided upon. In particular, emphasis was laid upon the desire, wisely entertained by right thinking men, that the second Hague Conference should take the steps necessary to build up a truly judicial international tribunal, by the side of or in succession to the semi-diplomatic tribunal which had been the fruit of the first conference at The Hague; and that the Conference should, itself, provide for its reassembling at stated intervals thereafter, without waiting for the specific call or invitation of any monarch or national executive. The history of the second Hague Conference is still fresh in our minds. Although not everything was done that we had hoped for, yet when the cloud of discussion lifted, we could plainly see that long steps in

advance had been taken, and that there was coming to be a more fundamental and far-reaching agreement among the nations as to what was wise and practicable in the steady substitution of the rule of justice for the rule of force among men.

To-day, however, the most optimistic observer of the movement of public opinion in the world, and the most stoutly convinced advocate of international justice, must confess himself perplexed, if not amazed, by some of the striking phenomena which meet his view. Expenditure for naval armaments is everywhere growing by leaps and bounds.

Edmund Burke said that he did not know the method of drawing up an indictment against a whole people; but perhaps it may be easier to detect some of the signs of emotional insanity than to draw an indictment for crime. The storm center of the world's weather to-day is to be found in the condition of mind of a large portion of the English people. The nation which, for generations, has contributed so powerfully to the world's progress in all that relates to the spread of the rule of law, to the peaceful development of commerce and industry, to the advancement of letters and science, and to the spread of humanitarian ideas, appears to be possessed for the moment—it can only be for the moment—with the evil spirit of militarism. It is hard to reconcile the excited and exaggerated utterances of responsible statesmen in Parliament and on the platform; the loud beating of drums and the sounding of alarums in the public press, even in that portion of it most given to sobriety of judgment; and the flocking of the populace to view a tawdry and highly sensational drama of less than third-rate importance for the sake of its contribution to their mental obsession by hobgoblins and the ghosts of national enemies and invaders, with the traditional temperament of a nation that has acclaimed the work of Howard, Wilberforce and Shaftesbury, whose public life was so long dominated by the lofty personality of William Ewart Gladstone, and of which the real heroes to-day are the John Milton and the Charles Darwin whose anniversaries are just now celebrated with so much sincerity and genuine appreciation.

What has happened? If an opinion may be ventured by an observer whose friendliness amounts to real affection, and who is in high degree jealous of the repute of the English people and of their place in the van of the world's civilization, it is that this lamentable outburst is attendant upon a readjustment of relative position and importance among the nations of the earth, due to economic and intellectual causes, which readjustment is interpreted in England, unconsciously of course, in terms of the politics of the first Napoleon rather than in terms of the politics of the industrial and intelligent democracies of the twentieth century. Germany is steadily gaining in importance

in the world, and England is in turn losing some of her long-standing relative primacy. The causes are easy to discover, and are in no just sense provocative of war or strife. Indeed, it is highly probable that war, if it should come with all its awful consequences, would only hasten the change it was entered upon to prevent.

It must not be forgotten that while there has long existed in Europe a German people, yet the German nation as such is a creation of very recent date. With the substantial completion of German political unity after the Franco-Prussian war, there began an internal development in Germany even more significant and more far-reaching in its effects than that which was called into existence by the trumpet voice of Fichte, after the disastrous defeat of the Prussian army by Napoleon at Jena, and guided by the hands of Stein and Hardenberg. This later development has been fundamentally economic and educational in character, and has been directed with great skill toward the development of the nation's foreign commerce, the husbanding of its own natural resources, and the comfort and health of the masses of its rapidly growing population.

Within a short generation the pressure of German competition has been severely felt in the trade and commerce of every part of the world. The two most splendid fleets engaged in the Atlantic carrying trade fly the German flag. Along either coast of South America, in the waters of China and Japan, in the ports of the Mediterranean and on the trade routes to India and Australia the German flag has become almost as familiar as the English. The intensive application of the discoveries of theoretical science to industrial processes has made Germany, in a sense, the world's chief teacher in its great international school of industry and commerce. With this over-sea trade expansion has gone the building of a German navy. It appears to be the building of this navy which has so excited many of the English people. For the moment we are not treated to the well-worn paradox that the larger a nation's navy the less likely it is to be used in combat and the more certain is the peace of the world. The old Adam asserts himself long enough to complain, in this case at least, that if a navy is building in Germany it must be intended for offensive use; and against whom could the Germans possibly intend to use a navy except against England? Their neighbors, the French and the Russians, they could readily, and with less risk, overrun with their great army. The United States is too far away to enter into the problem as a factor of any real importance. Therefore, the inference is drawn that the navy must be intended for an attack upon England. It is worth while noting that, on this theory, the German navy now building appears to be the first of modern

navies intended for military uses. It alone of all the world's navies, however large, however costly, is not a messenger of peace!

One must needs ask, then, what reason is to be found in the nature of the German people, in the declarations of their responsible rulers, or in the political relations between Germany and any other nation, for the belief that the German navy alone, among all modern navies, is building for a warlike purpose? Those of us who feel that the business of navy-building is being greatly overdone, and that it cannot for a moment be reconciled with sound public policy, or with the increasingly insistent demand for social improvements and reforms, may well wish that the German naval program were much more restricted than it is. But, waiving that point for the moment, what ground is there for the suspicion which is so widespread in England against Germany, and for the imputation to Germany of evil intentions toward England? Speaking for myself, and making full use of such opportunities for accurate information as I have had, I say with the utmost emphasis and with entire sincerity that I do not believe there is any ground whatever for those suspicions or for those imputations. Nor, what is much more important, has adequate ground for those suspicions and imputations been given by any responsible person.

Are we to believe, for example, that the whole public life in both Germany and England, is part of an opera bouffe, and that all the public declarations of responsible leaders of opinion are meaningless or untrue? Are the increasingly numerous international visits of municipal officials, of clergymen, of teachers, of trades unionists, of newspaper men, as well as the cordial and intimate reception given them by their hosts, all a sham and a pretense? Have all these men daggers in their hands and subtle poisons in their pockets? Are we to assume that there is no truth or frankness or decency left in the world? Are nations in the twentieth century, and nations that represent the most in modern civilization at that, so lost to shame that they fall upon each other's necks and grasp each other's hands and swear eternal fealty as conditions precedent to making an unannounced attack upon each other during a fog? Even the public morality of the sixteenth century would have revolted at that. The whole idea is too preposterous for words, and it is the duty of the thoughtful and sincere friends of the English people, in this country and in every country, to use every effort to bring them to see the unreasonableness, to use no stronger term, of the attitude toward Germany which they are at present made to assume. (Applause.)

But, says the objector, England is an island nation. Unless she commands the sea absolutely her national existence is in

danger; any strong navy in hands that may become unfriendly threatens her safety. Therefore she is justified in being suspicious of any nation that builds a big navy. That formula has been repeated so often that almost everybody believes it. There was a time when it was probably and within limits true. One cannot but wonder, however, whether it is true any longer. In the first place, national existence does not now depend upon military and naval force. Italy is safe; so are Holland and Portugal, Mexico and Canada. Then, the possibilities of aerial navigation alone, with the resulting power of attacking a population or a fleet huddled beneath a cloud of monsters travelling through the air and willing to risk their own existence and the lives of their occupants for the opportunity to approach near enough to enable a vital injury to be inflicted upon another people, to say nothing of the enginery of electricity, have changed the significance of the word "island." Although an island remains, as heretofore, a body of land entirely surrounded by water, yet that surrounding water is no longer to be the only avenue of approach to it, its possessions and its inhabitants. Even if we speak in the most approved language of militarism itself, it is apparent that a fleet a mile wide will not long protect England from attack or invasion, or from starvation, if the attacking or invading party is in command of the full resources of modern science and modern industry. But if justice be substituted for force, England will always be safe; her achievements for the past thousand years have made that certain.

The greatest present obstacle to the limitation of the armaments under the weight of which the world is staggering toward bankruptcy; the greatest obstacle to carrying forward those social and economic reforms for which every nation is crying out, that its population may be better housed, the public health more completely protected, and the burden of unemployment lifted from the backs of the wage-earning classes, appears to many to be the insistence by England on what it calls the two-power naval standard. So long as the British Empire circles the globe and so long as its ships and its goods are to be found in every port, the British navy will, by common consent, be expected to be much larger and more powerful than that of any other nation. Neither in France nor in Germany nor in Japan nor in America would that proposition be disputed. Even the two-power standard might not bring poverty and distress and wasteful expenditure to other nations if naval armaments were limited by agreement or were diminishing in strength. But, insisted upon in an era of rapidly increasing armaments, in this day of *Dreadnoughts*, the two-power standard leads, and must inevitably lead, to huge programs of naval construction in every nation where the patriotism and good sense of the people do not put a stop to this modern

form of madness. The practical sense of the world is against it; only so-called expert theories are on its side.

Under the prodding of alarmists in Parliament and the press, a Liberal ministry has been compelled to say that it would propose and support measures for naval aggrandizement and expenditure based upon the principle that the fighting strength of the British navy must be kept always one-tenth greater than the sum total of the fighting strength of the two next most powerful navies in the world. At first it was even proposed to include the navy of the United States in making this computation. Later that position was fortunately retreated from. But it will be observed that in computing the so-called two-power standard, the English jingoes count as contingent enemies the French and the Japanese, with both of whom their nation is in closest alliance, and also the Russians, with whom the English are now on terms of cordial friendship. In other words, unless all such treaties of alliance and comity are a fraud and a sham, these nations at least should be omitted from the reckoning. This would leave no important navy save that of Germany to be counted in possible opposition. For this reason, it is just now alike the interest and the highest opportunity for service of America and of the world to bring about the substitution of cordial friendship between England and Germany for the suspicion and distrust which so widely prevail. When this is done, a long step toward an international agreement for the limitation of armaments will have been taken; new progress can then be made in the organization of the world on those very principles for which the English themselves have time-long stood, and for whose development and application they have made such stupendous sacrifices and performed such herculean service.

If America were substituted for England, it would be difficult to see how any responsible statesman who had read the majority and minority reports recently laid before Parliament by the Poor Law Commission, could for one moment turn aside from the stern duty of national protection against economic, educational and social evils at home, to follow the will-o'-the-wisp of national protection against a non-existent foreign enemy. England today, in her own interest, needs to know Germany better; to learn from Germany, to study with care her schools and universities, her system of workingman's insurance, of old age pensions, of accident insurance, of sanitary and tenement house inspection and reform, and all her other great social undertakings, rather than to spend time and energy and an impoverished people's money in the vain task of preparing, by monumental expenditure and waste, to meet a condition of international enmity which has only an imaginary existence. It is the plain duty of the friends of both England and Germany—and what

right-minded man is not the warm friend and admirer of both these splendid peoples—to exert every possible influence to promote a better understanding of each of these peoples by the other, a fuller appreciation of the services of each to modern civilization, and to point out the folly, not to speak of the wickedness, of permitting the seeds of discord to be sown between them by any element in the population of either.

I like to think that the real England and the real Germany found voice on the occasion of a charming incident which it was my privilege to witness in September of last year. At the close of the impressive meeting of the Interparliamentary Union, held in Berlin, the German Imperial Chancellor offered the gracious and bountiful hospitality of his official residence to the hundreds of representatives of foreign parlimentary bodies then gathered in the German capital. Standing under the spreading trees of his own great gardens, surrounded by the leaders of German scholarship and of German political thought, Prince von Bülow was approached by more than two score members of the British Parliament, with Lord Weardale at their head. In a few impressive, eloquent and low-spoken sentences Lord Weardale expressed to the Chancellor what he believed to be the real feeling of England toward Germany, and what he felt should be the real relationship to exist between the two governments and the two peoples. In words equally cordial and quite as eloquent, Prince von Bülow responded to Lord Weardale with complete sympathy and without reserve. The incident made a deep impression upon the small group who witnessed it. It was over in a few minutes. It received no record in the public press, but in my memory it remains as a weighty, and I hope as a final, refutation of the widespread impression that England and Germany are at bottom hostile, and are drifting inevitably toward the maelstrom of an armed conflict. What could more surely lead to conviction of high crimes and misdemeanors at the bar of history than for two culture-peoples, with political and intellectual traditions in their entirety unequaled in the world's history, in this twentieth century to tear each other to pieces like infuriated gladiators in a bloody arena? The very thought is revolting, and the mere suggestion of it ought to dismay the civilized world.

The aim of all rational and practicable activity for the permanent establishment of the world's peace, and for the promotion of justice, is and must always be the education of the world's public opinion. Governments, however popular and however powerful, have ceased to dominate; everywhere public opinion dominates governments. As never before, public opinion is concerning itself with the solution of grave economic and social questions which must be solved aright if the great masses of the world's population are to share comfort and happiness. A

nation's credit, means the general belief in its ability to pay in the future. That nation which persistently turns away from the consideration of those economic and social questions upon which the productive power of its population must in last resort depend, limits and eventually destroys its own credit. That nation which insists, in response to cries more or less inarticulate and to formulas more or less outworn, upon spending the treasure taken from its population in taxes upon useless and wasteful armaments, hastens its day of doom, for it impairs its credit or ultimate borrowing capacity in a double way. It not only expends unproductively and wastefully vast sums of the nation's taxes, but it substitutes this unproductive and wasteful expenditure for an expenditure of equal amount, which might well be both productive and uplifting. The alternative to press upon the attention of mankind is that of huge armaments or social and economic improvement. The world cannot have both. There is a limit to man's capacity to yield up taxes for public use. Economic consumption is now heavily taxed everywhere. Accumulated wealth is being sought out in its hiding places, and is constantly being loaded with a heavier burden. All this cannot go on forever. The world must choose between pinning its faith to the symbols of a splendid barbarism and devoting its energies to the tasks of an enlightened civilization. (Applause.)

Despite everything, the political organization of the world in the interest of peace and justice proceeds apace. The movement is as sure as that of an Alpine glacier, and it has now become much more easily perceptible.

There is to be established at The Hague beyond any question, either by the next Hague Conference or before it convenes, by the leading nations of the world, acting along the lines of the principles adopted at the second Hague Conference two years ago, a high court of international justice. It is as clearly indicated as anything can be that that court is to become the supreme court of the nations of the world.

The Interparliamentary Union, which has within a few weeks adopted a permanent form of organization, and chosen a permanent secretary, whose headquarters are to be in the Peace Palace at the Hague itself—an occurrence of the greatest public importance which has, to my knowledge, received absolutely no mention in the press—now attracts to its membership representatives of almost every parliamentary body in existence. At the last meeting of the Interparliamentary Union, held in Berlin, the Parliament of Japan, the Russian Duma, and the newly organized Turkish Parliament, were all represented. By their side sat impressive delegations from the Parliaments of England, of France, of Germany, of Austria-Hungary, of Italy, of Belgium, of the Netherlands, and of the Scandinavian nations, as well as

eight or ten representatives of the American Congress. In this Interparliamentary Union, which has now passed through its preliminary or experimental stage, lies the germ of a coming federation of the world's legislatures which will be established in the near future, and whose powers and functions, if not precisely defined at first, will grow naturally from consultative to that authority of which wisdom and justice can never be divested. Each year that the representatives of a national parliament sit side by side with the representatives of the parliaments of other nations, look their colleagues in the face and discuss with them freely and frankly important maters of international concern, it will become more difficult for them to go back and vote a declaration of war against the men from whose consultation room they have but just come. Among honest men, familiarity breeds confidence, not contempt.

Where, then, in this coming political organization of the world, is the international executive power to be found? Granting that we have at The Hague an international court; granting that we have sitting, now at one national capital and now at another, what may be called a consultative international parliament, in what direction is the executive authority to be looked for? The answer to this vitally important question has been indicated by no less an authority than Senator Root, in his address before the American Society of International Law, more than a year ago. Mr. Root then referred to the fact that because there is an apparent absence of sanction for the enforcement of the rules of international law, great authorities have denied that those rules are entitled to be classed as law at all. He pointed out that this apparent inability to execute in the field of international politics a rule agreed upon as law, seems to many minds to render quite futile the further discussion of the political organization of the world. Mr. Root, however, had too practical as well as too profound a mind to rest content with any such lame and impotent conclusion. He went on to show, as he readily could, that nations day by day yield to arguments which have no compulsion behind them, and that as a result of such argument they are constantly changing policies, modifying conduct and offering redress for injuries. Why is this? Because, as Mr. Root pointed out, the public opinion of the world is the true international executive. No law, not even municipal law, can long be effective without a supporting public opinion. It may take its place upon the statute book, all constitutional and legislative requirements having been carefully complied with; yet it may and does remain a dead letter unless public opinion cares enough about it, believes enough in it, to vitalize it and to make it real.

In this same direction lies the highest hope of civilization. What the world's public opinion demands of nations or of

international conferences, it will get. What the world's public opinion is determined to enforce, will be enforced. The occasional brawler and disturber of the peace in international life will one day be treated as is the occasional brawler and disturber of the peace in the streets of a great city. The aim of this Conference, and of every gathering of like character, must insistently and persistently be the education of the public opinion of the civilized world.

The world is being politically organized while we are talking about it, and wondering how it is to be done and when it is to come to pass. Little by little the steps are taken, now in the formulation of a treaty, now in the instructions given to representatives at an international conference, now in the new state of mind brought about by the participation in international gatherings and the closer study of international problems, until one day the world will be surprised to find how far it has travelled by these successive short steps. We need not look for any great revolutionary or evolutionary movement that will come suddenly. A revolutionary movement would not be desirable, and evolutionary movements do not come in that way. Slowly, here a little, there a little, line upon line, and precept upon precept, will the high ethical and political ideals of civilized man assert themselves and take on such forms as may be necessary to their fullest accomplishment.

We Americans have a peculiar responsibility toward the political organization of the world. Whether we recognize it or not we are universally looked to, if not to lead in this undertaking, at least to contribute powerfully toward it. Our professions and our principles are in accord with the highest hopes of mankind. We owe it to ourselves, to our reputation and to our influence, that we do not by our conduct belie those principles and those professions; that we do not permit selfish interests to stir up among us international strife and ill-feeling; that we do not permit the noisy boisterousness of irresponsible youth, however old in years or however high in place, to lead us into extravagant expenditure for armies and navies; and that, most of all, we shall cultivate at home and in our every relation, national and international, that spirit of justice which we urge so valiantly upon others. *Si vis pacem, para pacem!* (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The Conference is accustomed at the first session to look forward with interest to an annual review of the progress of international arbitration presented by an authority on the subject, Dr. BENJAMIN F. TRUEBLOOD, Secretary of the American Peace Society.

RECENT ENCOURAGEMENTS TO THE FRIENDS OF ARBITRATION

ADDRESS OF BENJAMIN F. TRUEBLOOD, LL. D.

The position of the movement to supplant war by arbitration and other pacific agencies is today much more encouraging than we have ever before seen it; this, in spite of the fact that the nations are spending vastly greater sums on armaments and preparations for war than ever before, and the further fact that pitiable panics, like the recent one on our Pacific Coast and the still more recent and more pitiable one in Great Britain, are still so frequent. But these panics and gigantic preparations for war need not greatly discourage us. They are but temporary manifestations of surviving paganism. They belong to the old internationalism of brute force, of suspicion and fear, of self-aggrandizement and contempt of others, which is rapidly passing away under the growing light of reason and the steadily advancing triumph of goodwill, law and justice among the nations.

From year to year we have watched the arbitration and peace movement grow, always with faith, but often also with solicitude and something akin to despair at the slowness with which what seemed to us perfectly simple and imperative principles and policies have made their way. We have rejoiced over the great and striking successes—the memorable arbitration settlements, the Hague Conferences, the arbitration treaties and the like. We have repeated the story of these when there was "nothing doing," in order to sustain our courage and parry the blows of scepticism and ridicule which have fallen upon us. But what is the actual situation in which the friends of arbitration find themselves today? Have we any reason to congratulate ourselves over the events of the past year?

It is never an easy thing to point out in detail the gains of a movement so great and farreaching as ours, especially when we attempt to measure its progress by years. By decades and generations it is much easier. Taking the last twenty years, no other humane movement has so much to show to its credit as ours—more than a hundred settlements of controversies by arbitration; more than fourscore treaties of obligatory arbitration; two great official world Peace Conferences; more than a score of special official international congresses and conferences; an enormous development of pacific public opinion, as expressed through the peace associations, through conferences like this, through the Interparliamentary Union and many other organizations that have taken up the deliberate propagation of our cause; the Hague Court of Arbitration, established and now extended to all the nations of the world; the arbitration clause put into

most recent treaties of commerce; an International Court of Arbitral Justice, set up and already in operation in Central America; the principle of obligatory arbitration accepted unanimously by the representatives of all the nations at the Second Hague Conference; that of a Permanent High Court of Nations likewise unanimously opproved. All this in twenty years, most of it in ten. It is an unparalleled record.

Among the particular gains of the past year must be recorded first of all the vast enlargement of public sentiment in all countries in favor of, indeed in insistence upon, the completion without delay of the system of pacific settlement of international differences, so as permanently to remove the risk of war and relieve the world from the tremendous burdens and anxieties imposed by the present rivalry in armaments. In a despatch sent out from Washington last week, President Taft is represented as being convinced, from advices received from every quarter, that the civilized world is unanimously desiring and would welcome some assured recourse from the danger of war. This despatch, whether officially inspired or not, unquestionably represents the general consensus of public feeling in regard to the present unstable and unsatisfactory condition of the world. The President is moving in the only possible way that intelligent, conscientious and up-to-date statesmanship can take, if, as the same despatch claims, he is seriously contemplating an early move for a general treaty of obligatory arbitration, such as will be eagerly welcomed, he believes, by the great powers, will relieve the prevailing tension and anxiety, and "at least check the enormous and constantly increasing annual outlay for military and naval purposes."

It is this strong and positive advance in public sentiment, manifesting itself among all classes—educators, philanthropists, clergymen, business men, working men, socialists, etc., and an ever larger section of the public press—in which we should chiefly rejoice as we gather here to-day. For, after all, the public sentiment that demands and compels arbitration, that backs and supports the governments in their efforts after advanced practical results, that bravely meets and stands up against all reactionary criticisms and schemes, is worth more to our cause than any conceivable number of actual arbitrations that may take place or arbitration treaties that may be concluded. The latter are the fruit, the former is the living tree which produces it.

Turning to another aspect of the progress of the year, we find substantial ground for gratulation. The International Court of Arbitration at The Hague, to which, since the Second Hague Conference, all the nations are parties, has given fresh proof of the prophecies about a permanent tribunal which were uttered here a dozen years and more ago, before the Court came into existence. It has already become the normal thing to refer con-

troversies to it, no less than four cases of difference having been carried to its bar within the year.

It is a source of great satisfaction that, after so many years of friction among the fishermen themselves and of diplomatic correspondence about the trouble, all phases of the Newfoundland Fisheries controversy are to be brought before the Court for final adjustment. Ex-Secretary of State Root and Ambassador Bryce have put all citizens of this country and the British Empire, indeed of all countries, under very great obligations to them for the tactful and masterly way in which they have handled this question and put it in the way of final removal from the sphere of controversy.

The second of the cases referred to the Hague Court during the year is that of our dispute, or certain phases of our dispute, with the Government of Venezuela. For this accomplishment we are indebted to the disappearance of former President Castro from the scene, but especially to the patient and skilful diplomatic work of Hon. William I. Buchanan, with whose presence we are honored at this Conference.

Norway and Sweden have also referred to the Hague Court within the year a boundary dispute growing out of their recent separation.

But more important than any of these cases is that of the Casa-Blanca difficulty which France and Germany have referred to The Hague. The importance of this case does not grow out of the fact that the dispute was of any great moment, but of the fact that it is France and Germany who have agreed to submit a difference to the Hague Court. For nearly forty years these two great powers have stood apart in irreconcilable antagonism. They have previously neither arbitrated anything, nor have they entered into any treaty of arbitration. That they have finally become so transformed in spirit as to be willing to refer a dispute to third parties is the capital thing. If I had to point out what seems to me to be the chief event of the year in connection with our movement, I should put my finger on the Casa-Blanca arbitration. This event assures us that the last bulwarks of opposition to the settlement of controversies by arbitration and other pacific means are breaking down and that the culmination of the movement in complete success is not far away. When France and Germany begin to walk the ways of arbitration and peace together, the whole of Europe, indeed the whole world, will quickly feel a thrill of inspiration, and the movement for world peace will speedily quicken its pace.

Just as I was finishing this paper two days ago, the cable brought us word that a protocol for the reëstablishment of diplomatic relations between France and Venezuela had been arranged of the same basis as that between the United States and Venezuela,

and that this protocol provided for the arbitration of the claims of French citizens against Venezuela. This doubtless means further work for the Hague Court.

The past year has been fruitful likewise in treaties of obligatory arbitration. During the last year of his Secretaryship of State, Mr. Root signed treaties of arbitration with France, Switzerland, Italy, Mexico, Great Britain, Norway, Portugal, Spain, the Netherlands, Sweden, Japan, China, Peru, Salvador, the Argentine Republic, Bolivia, Ecuador, Haiti, Uruguay, Chile, Costa Rica, Austria Hungary, Brazil and Denmark, twenty-four in all. These treaties have all been ratified by both the President and the Senate. Twelve of them have been proclaimed and the other twelve will be shortly. A number of similar treaties have likewise been concluded between other countries during the year. A recent despatch from Rio Janeiro stated that the Brazilian government was in the process of concluding treaties with five or six different countries. The whole number of arbitration treaties, therefore, which have been concluded since October 14, 1903, when the Franco-British Treaty was signed, is nearly one hundred, possibly by this time more than one hundred.

Without going into any discussion of the serious obstacles to the cause of arbitration, which will probably be discussed by others before the Conference closes, may I be permitted to say in conclusion that the Conference this year ought to lay very great stress upon two things. First, the enlargement of the scope of the arbitration treaties between the nations in pairs. The earlier of these treaties have already run out and are now being renewed. They ought to be so enlarged, as they are renewed, as to cover practically all classes of disputes that may ever hereafter arise between the nations. The time has gone by when the ambiguous and practically meaningless clause about national honor and vital interests should ever again be inserted in an arbitration treaty between two intelligent governments. The second thing on which our Conference ought to lay stress is the duty of the governments which took part in the Second Hague Conference to conclude among themselves, at the earliest practicable moment, a general treaty of obligatory arbitration to be signed by all the powers, and to include all kinds of disputes except such as may involve the national life and independence. If President Taft is contemplating the step alluded to in the despatch from Washington, which I have cited, he ought to have the strong and unanimous support of the representative men and women gathered here. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I now have pleasure in presenting a colleague, PROFESSOR SAMUEL T. DUTTON of the Teachers' College, Columbia University. Perhaps Professor Dutton will permit me

to say that he has accepted an invitation from the ancient University of Upsala to take part during next summer in the general movement which is going on in the exchange of professors by universities all over the world.

THE NEED OF MORE EFFECTIVE ORGANIZATION IN THE PEACE MOVEMENT

ADDRESS OF PROFESSOR SAMUEL T. DUTTON

The growth of civilization has carried with it a strong tendency toward international good will. Irrespective of what peace-loving men have been able to do, economic and social factors have worked most effectively. Racial movements and migrations whereby people have been mixed together, trade and communication, making the ocean a common highway, and filling the air with voices speaking from city to city and from man to man, an international postal system with ever cheapening rates for the transmission of letters, books, newspapers and periodicals, the centralization of world finance, the conservative attitude of bankers and the quick participation of mankind in the fruits of invention and scientific research,—all tend to bring the world together, to make each nation dependent upon and debtor to every other nation.

Education and culture also, in all their several departments and activities have favored a common mind and common ideals. Not only have universities and schools promoted intelligence and leadership toward democracy, but literature, art, music, and many institutions inspired by philanthropy have tended to lift and refine both mind and heart. Religion and charity also have generally softened human relations and promoted a sense of sympathy and brotherhood. In many senses the world is to-day united in thought and desire. One can travel almost anywhere in safety and comfort. The mighty hunter now proceeding from the south to the north of Africa will make a large portion of his journey by railway and steamship. A mighty change is taking place in China and even in that most backward of all nations, the Turkish Empire, we see a marvelous movement toward democratic forms, free education and religious tolerance, and in spite of the harrowing scenes enacted in some of the provinces, the ultimate end of this new movement will be peace at home and dignity among the nations.

Speaking broadly, the world has attained peace. The common people in all civilized countries are utterly opposed to war. In Germany, France and England, the memories and traditions of stricken homes and the devastation of property are fresh enough and strong enough so that nothing but a deep sense of national insult can rouse the war spirit.

The nations also have taken official action toward peace. I need not recite the facts concerning the evolution of sincerity and frankness in diplomacy, the promising and prophetic results of two Hague Conferences, the treaty-making activity of recent years in which our own late Secretary of State has taken so conspicuous a part. The moral influence and leadership of the Interparliamentary Union, the Mohonk Arbitration Conference, Peace societies, national and international congresses, the vigorous propaganda of the Conciliation Society, the increasingly determined attitude of labor organizations and socialistic leaders, the growth of international hospitality, the beginnings made toward the education of the young in this and other lands to the larger patriotism, especially the American School Peace League, which, by the way, deserves the active support of the members of this Conference,—all these forces and undertakings have accomplished and, as Dr. Butler said, will accomplish great good.

I notice that the excellent resolutions passed at the late Chicago Conference, contain the following opening sentence:

"Resolved that public war is now out of date, a relic of barbarism unworthy of our time, and that the nations of the world, by joint agreement in a league of peace among themselves, ought to make its occurrence hereafter impossible."

This is undoubtedly the sentiment of the majority of the people of the world. They read with horror of the massacres in Asiatic Turkey, but war itself is a massacre, and while its modern engines of destruction in their power to cause ruin and misery are beyond imagination, every thoughtful person condemns any national policy which invites war or even makes it possible. Two great impending dangers threaten the nations to-day: First, the wild and feverish expenditures for armies and navies, causing sensitiveness, suspicion and fear and increasing the possibility of conflict. Second, the looting of national treasuries and the conversion of the people's money needed for public welfare, to sinister purposes with the certainty of impoverishment and misery to follow. "The mills of the gods grind slowly but they grind exceeding small." Go to certain great cities in Europe (I will not mention names), and see that unspeakable brand of poverty which you find in certain quarters. The true story of the effects of war during the last two or three centuries is to be read not in the brilliant battle paintings of Vernet, or in glorified history and fiction, but in those streets of great cities where are crowded together the specters and the semblances of men and women, who have inherited the accumulated misery of generations of want and degradation. You will see that the decadence of humanity has there gone far below the plane of original sin, and that the only hope for many lies in early death and the grave.

We, as a nation, are young, rich and full of expectancy and hope. Our soil is deep, labor finds a ready market, the foreign visitor remarks on visiting the great public schools in the poorer sections of our cities that the children are clean, neatly dressed and happy. We provide free education for both children and adults. We have never been attacked. We are unique in being widely separated from the so-called military nations. Remembering our history, the ideals of our fathers, their faith in God and the responsibility which ever accompanies great gifts, have we not as a nation a duty to perform among other nations? Shall we simply become drunken with the glamour of war, with its barbarous and effete practices, or shall we set a manly and noble example of moderation and reserve and throw our vast influence in favor of extending arbitration treaties so as to make them include every question which is likely to arise? The code of today does not require a gentleman to fight a duel or even to strike back. Justice rises high above the blackguard and the ruffian.

What are we doing? I have sufficiently recognized the work already undertaken and accomplished in educating public sentiment. Much of this work lacks effective guidance and proper financial support. There should be, and I trust there may soon be, one strong Peace organization. in every state in the Union. Educative work in all its forms must be pushed more vigorously. But the greatest need at the present moment is that the sentiment of the country should be focussed upon certain great practical problems. One of these problems is to be solved in Washington and this is the only one to which I will refer. Dr. Kirchwey will deal with another, and Mr. Carnegie recently suggested still another—the league of peace.

No man or body of men, so far as I know, has accepted the responsibility of leadership in controlling and shaping legislation concerning armament, although just now that question forges to the front. If any great interest like the Pennsylvania Railroad, the United States Steel Corporation, Harvard University, or the Catholic Church, were to manage its affairs after the pattern of the Peace cause, it would go into bankruptcy and into disfavor inside of six months. Neither the Peace Conferences nor the excellent resolutions which they pass touch in more than a superficial way the particular need to which I refer. It is distinctly a need of organization of such a kind that the people of this country have an adequate voice—we have much public sentiment—which can be heard at Washington,—yes, at London and Paris and Berlin. The Mohonk Conference, I must say, has performed a notable service, and I have recognized what the American and other Peace Societies have done, but a new crisis has come and more effective organization is needed. What sup-

port did those brave men in the Senate and House receive while battling last year and this year for economy, prudence and national nobility? Petitions were sent and letters were written for which they were thankful. These methods are seen to be inadequate. At the International Conference at Munich two years ago, I had the honor of proposing a resolution to the effect that in every country there should be a national council which, acting in co-operation with all other agencies, should give direction and guidance to this movement. We evidently need in the United States a group of the strongest men in the nation to direct this work. Two or three men of the right calibre may organize such a group and the number may be increased to fifteen or twenty or even twenty-five. It may be called a national council but the name is not important. Naturally, it must be made up of those who are heart and soul in favor of bringing the nation back to ancient principles of simplicity and good sense. This group of men should be in name and policy independent of the Peace Societies, for reasons which I will not stop to explain, and here, of course, we must recognize an obstacle and I am not sure that it can be overcome. The men of influence in our universities, boards of trade, great industries and churches are all very busy. There will be some difficulty in getting them to give the kind of service required. I am hopeful that it can be done. Having such a committee or council, subsidiary groups should be formed in every state in the Union, for the object in view is not to be accomplished in a day, and in every state there should be an active and determined attempt to educate the leaders of public sentiment and those who are to control affairs. Candidates for State assemblies and for Congress should be interrogated as to their principles, so that the people may know what policies they will advocate. The united sentiment of the nation in so far as it can be committed to a conservative policy should be brought to bear through the central committee upon the government at Washington. There is reason to believe that in the not distant future means will be available for such work as this and I believe an appeal from a truly authoritative central committee for money to support such a campaign as I have described, will meet with response. Too many of the good things proposed for world peace are on paper and too many good men think well and talk justly but are not enlisted in the *real active* work. There can be no effective organization which is expressed simply in lists of names with great titles. No other business can be managed in that way and sincere men ought to be willing to give both time and money to help the nation out of the danger into which she has fallen.

Such a human machine as I am describing will become international in character, for it will ally itself with similar groups

abroad which are working for the same end. The proper working of this body would mean at least one annual conference in Washington to which delegates should come from all the states, and to which senators, representatives, and government officials, and officers of the army and navy should be invited. This conference should be less for hearing papers and addresses than for consultation, committee work and personal appeal. The character and sincerity of the nation should here find expression not in radical propositions hazarding the high and honorable position held by our army and navy, but rather in preserving it. Personality, acting under strong conviction, is powerful even when silent. Verbal propaganda is, of course, one of our greatest weapons, but the time has come for action. The situation we are facing looks more critical than it did two years ago. One cannot help feeling that things have, in a measure, gone by default. The long voyage of the battleships, glorious as it was in some ways, placed us in a false position before the world. Our enormous appropriations for armament are raising serious questions in the chancellories of Europe. Our competency to help other nations is diminished. We cannot administer the Emanuel treatment to them unless we believe in the God of nations and we are ourselves psychologically and ethically sound.

I did not expect to do more than to hint at a single phase of our great problem. We have grounds for encouragement in seeking a better and more self-conscious organization of forces all along the line and I fully expect to see in the very near future such a new and efficient synthesis of forces as will be consonant with a great free nation whose true mission it is to lead the world toward the light. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I now present another colleague who gives himself generously to every public service and who is now a member of the American Committee appointed by the Berne Peace Bureau to study the question of limitation of armaments, Dr. GEORGE W. KIRCHWEY, Dean of the Columbia University Law School.

THE PROBLEM OF THE LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS

ADDRESS OF GEORGE W. KIRCHWEY, LL. D.

We are met at a fortunate time to discuss the problem of the limitation of armaments. For a long time it has presented itself as an aspiration of humanity, as an opportunity of statesmanship, as a demand of civilation. Now, thanks to the mad struggle of Great Britain and Germany for naval supremacy, it stands forth suddenly revealed as the supreme test of the capacity of our

western world to carry on the great work of civilization. Hitherto from the heights of our proud isolation, we have coolly counted the cost of militarism in treasure and human wretchedness, have pitied and fulminated and condemned. Now at last with the poison tingling in our own veins, we know that the problem is one that must be solved and that without delay. For to declare it insoluble is to declare the bankruptcy of statesmanship; to condemn its attempted solution as impracticable is to confess the collapse of our civilization. For it is easy to see that the final term of the mathematical progression upon which the great powers have entered is infinity and that the waste of the resources of life which it involves will go on increasing in an accelerating ratio of destruction. So long as the competition of the powers was confined to their military establishments there was an obvious limit to their expansion; that limit is reached when every able-bodied man in the state has been placed in the ranks. But the struggle for naval supremacy finds no logical conclusion save national bankruptcy or war—and it is with this portentous fact staring us in the face that we have come together to-day for the benign purpose to which this Conference is dedicated.

I do not forget that that purpose is the promotion of the cause of international peace through arbitration, but let us not be deceived. *Inter armas leges silunt.* The still, small voice of the law can not be heard in the din of arms. True, like the false prophets of Judah, we cry Peace! Peace! But there is no peace. These serried ranks of Dreadnaughts which face each other in the narrow seas are not sent forth on errands of mercy. Their avowed purpose is to maintain or vindicate the superior force of the nations marshalling them, and supremacy maintained by force is war. No, believe me, my friends; in the presence of these embattled fleets and armies of the most Christian nations of Europe, the angel of arbitration shrinks back dismayed and forgotten. We must change our order of attack. Not arbitration first and then the dissolution of armaments; but first the limitation of armaments and the mitigation of the passions which swelling armaments engender, that arbitration may have her way.

I need not dwell here upon the growth of the demand, becoming ever more insistent, that something shall be done to check the madness which I have described. The history of the movement has been so well set forth by Dr. Scott, Prof. Hull and Mr. Mead in their recent writings that I may be excused gleaning after them. I will rather confine myself to such an exposition as the time permits of the agencies now definitely at work and of the plans which they are promoting.

First in the field and first, perhaps, in importance thus far is the English Committee which was created in 1906 primarily for

the purpose of formulating the views of thoughtful Englishmen on the more important matters to come before the Second Hague Conference. The committee was a very strong one, containing many men of distinguished character and ability, and it submitted a carefully considered report on the "Arrest of Armaments." Its first resolution read as follows:

I. That the chief question to be brought before the Second Hague Conference should be that of an agreement for a general limitation of armaments, and that the British Government should make proposals to this end.

Its more important specific recommendations were

(1) That Great Britain seek to persuade the powers to agree to a proportional reduction of naval and military expenditure for five years; or, failing such agreement, that Great Britain propose an arrest of expenditure for three years with a view to reduction at a later date;
(2) That there be established at the Hague technical committees charged with the duty of ascertaining whether such agreements were carried out and to give expert advice to the governments desiring the same; and
(3) That the agreements should provide for a reference to the Permanent Court of Arbitration of any differences arising in the course of their execution.

The futile treatment of the problem by the Conference is well known. Great Britain, urged on by the Interparliamentary Union and numerous other organizations, did, indeed, present the matter, but it was rather as a pious aspiration than as a practical project. The only definite suggestion made was an expression of the willingness of great Britain to communicate each year to the powers that would do the same its plan of constructing new war-ships and the expenditures which this plan will require, as a basis for an interchange of views on the reduction which by common agreement may be effected. It is evident that the temper of the Conference was not favorable to the serious consideration of the problems. The need felt by Russia of rehabilitating her naval establishment after its destruction by Japan and the desire of Germany to reduce the disparity of her sea-power in comparison with that of Great Britain combined to render the discussion of the question inopportune. So the British delegate contented himself with moving that it was "highly desirable" that the governments take up the serious study of the question, and this resolution was, we are informed, adopted "by acclamation."

The next specific proposal given to the world was submitted to the Universal Peace Congress held in London last year by a special international committee appointed for the purpose at the congress of the preceding year in Munich. This proposal which was unanimously carried in the Congress, was that the British

Government be urged to enter at once into negotiations with other powers for a common arrest of naval armaments and that a special conference of the chief naval powers be called without delay in order that a practical plan for such a standstill may be elaborated and put into operation before the meeting of the Third Hague Conference, when, if it has worked successfully, it may lead to a more general agreement. The Congress also expressed the opinion that, for the moment, a practical method of such an arrest of armaments would be an agreement by the contracting states for a short term of years not to exceed the average total expenditure on army and navy, jointly or separately, during a similar preceding period.

It does not appear that these resolutions have thus far been fruitful of results. It is true, we are told, that Great Britain has in some delicate manner conveyed to the German Government an intimation that if she were pressed, she might conceivably be induced to enter into negotiations with that great and friendly power, but the increasing din of war preparation wafted across the channel has apparently given the German government pause.

A third agency instituted for the special purpose under consideration is the group of committees on the limitation of armaments formed in the United States and in the principal countries of Europe under the auspices of the Berne Peace Bureau. The American committee was organized last summer under the chairmanship of Senator Burton and has, after much correspondence and consultation with leading statesmen and others, formulated a tentative program. It has not seemed to the Committee that it would be wise for it to enter into the debatable technical field and make suggestions of a specific character. Whether the solution of the problem is to be found in the limitation of expenditure as proposed by the European agencies or in a self-denying ordinance of the powers, arresting the expansion of their armaments for a term of years, or, as suggested by President Roosevelt, in a restriction as to the size of new warships to be constructed, or in the creation of a central bureau of the powers with authority to preserve the balance of military and naval power, or in a combination of two or more of these methods it is difficult to say. These are debatable questions upon which an American committee without expert knowledge or official character may well hesitate to express a confident opinion. But the Committee has not rested content with the conclusion announced at the beginning of this paper, that the desperate character of the problem renders its solution necessary and therefore possible. It has, from a study of the international situation and of the opinions of living statesmen, reached the conclusion that the pro-

posal to check the inordinate growth of armaments by international agreement is not an iridescent dream of the visionary and sentimentalist, but a measure of practical statesmanship; that the hesitation of the powers to take the problem vigorously in hand has not been due to its inherent difficulties, least of all to a conviction of its impracticability, but solely to local conditions of a temporary character and to international fear and jealousies springing out of those conditions. These conditions—especially the threatening preponderance of British sea-power and the abasement and humiliation of Russia—are tending to disappear and with the restoration of the balance of power among the states of Western Europe will come the opportunity of statesmanship.

But the Committee whose views I am presenting goes further. It sees, or thinks it sees, in the relations of the great powers of Europe at the present time such a state of tension and such a degree of mutual distrust as to render it well-nigh impossible for anyone of them to take the initiative in such a movement. There remains only one voice of sufficient authority to command a hearing, that of our own favored land—set in abiding peace and security within her enveloping seas, lifted high above the passions of international strife—and it is to that voice that we make our appeal. It is accordingly the plan of the Committee to urge upon the President the great opportunity as well as the high duty which this critical stage in international relations presents to him—an opportunity to serve civilization and humanity such as has come to no president since Lincoln, a duty more pressing than any other that he is likely to be called upon to face. He will be asked to invite all the great military and naval powers to meet in conference for the purpose of devising and agreeing upon some effective plan for limiting the growth and, if possible, for reducing the present size of military and naval armaments, such conference to be held a year or more after the date of the call, the powers accepting the invitation to appoint at once technical commissions in every state to study the problems involved in advance of the meeting of the Conference.

That the leading nations would gladly respond to such an appeal from the government of the United States and that they would address themselves to the task before them with a zeal and resolution which could issue only in success, I cannot doubt. For be it remembered that the problem in its present form is a new one—for the first time in history the game is played without a limit, and, further, that the competition is a forced, not a voluntary one. It is with no elation, with no splendid sense of confidence and safety that the powers are multiplying their military and naval resources. It is a life and death struggle in which they are engaged, and they "stretch forth lame hands of

faith, and grope" and, as the President of the Conference has shown us in the powerful address delivered by him this morning, eagerly seek the assistance of the world that lives and moves outside the mad-house in which they are pent up. Here then is our opportunity and our duty.

But there is another aspect of the question. We have not only duties and opportunities; we have rights as well; and one of those rights is to live in peace and security in the family of nations. It is as true of nations as of individuals that none liveth unto himself and none dieth unto himself. No two powers can come into conflict without embarrassing and injuring other powers. When this conflict takes on the form of open war, this right of neutral nations to pursue their peaceful way with the least possible interference from the belligerents has long been asserted and its complete vindication is one of the great triumphs of modern international law. But it is becoming equally clear that peaceful, industrial nations have an equal right to be secure from the alarms of threatened war. That a nation should by the rivalry of two other nations be forced to forsake the path of peaceful development and purchase security at the price fixed by their mad competition is a condition of affairs that cannot long be tolerated. In so far as we are the victims of this process, we have a right to put an end to it by any means short of war—for the alternative is that "armed peace" which is scarcely less awful than war itself.

And so, Ladies and Gentlemen, I come to my topic and to the end of my paper at the same time. There has been no "systematic study of limitation of armaments," if by that is meant the thorough scientific investigation of the military needs of the great powers in view of their public responsibilities, the concentration or distribution of their territory, the extent and character of their trade and of the proper distribution of power among them. This were, indeed, "a parlous quest" and one not to be lightly undertaken. But there has, on the other hand, been abundant study of such practical questions as the comparative cost and utility of the various units of military and naval strength, the relative weight and efficiency of the sea and land power of the principal nations of Christendom and the like, and here we have a great and growing body of knowledge on which to base our deliberations.

But, as I have said before, what is wanted is not more knowledge but a better will, and if it be true, as I believe, that that will exists today, all that remains is for us to open the door that it may have its way. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: General discussion will now be welcome.

Dr. TRUEBLOOD: Before discussion is begun I rise to move that the Conference ask the Business Committee of the Confer-

ence to take up the subject presented by Dr. Dutton in his paper, the question of the creation of a National Peace Council to represent and act for all the peace forces of the country. (Motion carried.)

Mr. Joshua L. Bailey, of Philadelphia: Mr. Chairman: I have listened with great admiration, approval and instruction to all that has been presented here this morning, touching the matter of arbitration. Another question which I think is not secondary to it is the limitation of armaments. There is one point which seems to me intimately connected with the latter subject, but to which no reference has been made.

While we are in conference here, another great body is sitting in the city of Washington, and their chief aim at this time seems to be to devise some method of increasing the revenue to meet a possible deficit, a necessity which has arisen chiefly because of the extraordinary appropriations for the maintenance of the Army and Navy, and particularly for the construction of battleships, and this at a time when we are at peace with all other nations and no prospect of war near or even remote.

I hope this subject will receive due consideration here.

Dr. E. D. Warfield, President of Lafayette College. Mr. Chairman: I rejoice in such addresses as we have heard this morning, thoroughly recognizing the fact that the great obstacle toward carrying out the ideals of international arbitration is reliance on physical force a recognition that assures of a great advance. I believe the great lesson for us is to be in advance of our time, to believe the progress of the world is written in idealism, to believe that education is going to accomplish the work that we are seeking to accomplish for international justice. I believe, and have often said on this floor, the things for us to eradicate are international prejudice, international suspicion, international hatred, everything that prevents us from realizing and appreciating the unity of our race and the certainty that God shall come to his own in the great nations of the world.

If we believe in arbitration we will have arbitration; if we believe in righteousness we will have righteousness; if we believe in putting down these great armaments we will say to the men whom we can influence in the councils of our nation: "We demand of our country that she shall be a lamp to the nations of the earth." (Applause.)

Dr. W. P. Rogers, Dean of the Cincinnati University Law School: Mr. President, I wish to say that I am delighted not only with the papers to which we have listened this morning but the spirit that seems so prevalent here, favoring the subject of disarmament. I will read a sentence or two which I

quote from the first paper and which seems to me to express the sentiment existing in the minds and hearts of all who compose this assembly.

Our honored host, Mr. Smiley, in that part of his paper touching this subject said: "No one wishes more than I that armies and navies might be largely done away with, and no one appreciates more keenly the economic distress which great armaments impose on the people. * * * There is one ray of hope; it is this, for some strong nation to take the initiative and a decided step in the limitation or reduction of armaments. Of all the nations there is only one that could take the initiative and that is the United States."

This exactly represents my views. I believe we have reached the time not when we should forget or abandon arbitration, because that time will never come, but we have reached the time when we should cease to pass resolutions upon the subject solely for the purpose of creating public sentiment. Public sentiment has long since adopted the principle of arbitration. It is well fixed in the minds of the people. We cannot again fall back of that position. Having already established it, we are ready, it seems to me, for a resolution by this Conference on the important subject of lessening the expenditure for armaments. For, as our speakers have said this morning, the logic of events points to the United States to lead in a world-effort to reduce armaments.

We must recognize the fact that the Mohonk Conference is looked to for leadership and for the most advanced opinion in the United States on the subject of international peace. And so if the United States is to lead the world, each member of this Conference is made to feel a great responsibility in reference to the adoption of such a resolution. I am glad of the opportunity as one member of the Conference to express myself in favor of a resolution looking to the lessening of the armaments of the world, and I trust we will not adjourn without adopting in our platform such a resolution. (Applause.)

The Conference then ajourned until evening.

Second Session

Wednesday Evening, May 19, 1909

THE CHAIRMAN: It is a great pleasure to present as the first speaker of this evening a diplomat familiar to this Conference and in receipt of its esteem and regard not only for his personal accomplishments but for the official station he so admirably fills—the Bolivian Minister, SENOR DON IGNACIO CALDERON.

THE SERVICES OF HON. ELIHU ROOT TO THE PEACE MOVEMENT

ADDRESS OF SENOR DON IGNACIO CALDERON

It is two years since I had first the honor of addressing you under the auspices of our beloved host, Mr. Smiley, and to-day I am much pleased to find myself again in the midst of so distinguished a company of ladies and gentlemen, who with an abiding faith in the final triumph of right over force, are pledged to extend the cause of international arbitration as a substitute for homicidal wars.

A world embracing sentiment in favor of the pacific solution of international difficulties becomes each day more pronounced. The spirit of justice, which with irresistible power spreads according as the peoples approach more and more each other, is destined finally to master the brutal instinct of war.

Sceptics, who doubt the efficacy of these peace conferences and who have faith alone in the power belched from the cannon's mouth, forget that it is not this but the eternal laws of right and justice which form the base and the columns of civilized nations.

The untilled fields abound for the most part in noxious weeds which the patient labor of the toiler roots out, sowing in the place thereof the useful seeds, that nature may with bountiful crops recompense his efforts. So in the world of ideas it is necessary to combat the untamed instincts of force and to cultivate sane principles of justice, rooting these in the mind and in the heart of man until they become his sole rule of conduct.

This noble work of propaganda is that which assemblies such as this Conference are called to fulfil. We must struggle in order to instill into the individual conscience, to form what is called public opinion, the sentiment that right and justice need neither force nor murder to maintain their dominion over the peoples. Vain will be every effort to extirpate armed conflicts

until the conviction shall be made to permeate the civic mass that there is in the world nothing more wasteful and cruel than, in the name of right and political exigency, to bring down upon a whole people mourning and desolation.

The American Continent, where democracy is the organic base of the countries thereof, is without doubt the land most appropriate for the propagation and establishment of international arbitration as an invariable standard for the solution of every kind of difference.

In Europe the system of Continental equilibrium, traditional rivalries in supremacy, diversity in political constitutions and many other causes of divergence, make more difficult and complicated the adoption of arbitration! In matters affecting their natural self-love, their preponderancy and historical antagonisms, it is scarcely to be hoped that a solution will be sought outside the arbitrament of war.

The American nations fortunately were all born from the impulse of a common sentiment of independence and sought inspiration for their organization in the only sovereignty natural and legitimate, popular sovereignty. In this community of aspirations, whose essence is respect for the will of the people in framing its government, has been born a new and generous principle of international community based on an identity of ideals which may be condensed in the maxim, " The greatest good to the greatest number." Inspired by these sentiments, expression of the genuine spirit of modern democracies, there is no place for the political combinations of the Old World, where the so-called first-class powers live forever on guard, consuming in stupendous military preparations the millions wrung from burdensome taxation.

Much have the Spanish American republics been criticized and blamed for the spirit of disorder supposed to dominate them, forgetting that the customs and the education received from the mother country were not the same as were inculcated in the English colonists to North America, for according to the very apt observation of that eminent statesman, Mr. Root, the capacity for self-government is not a natural gift to man but is an art to be learned. This laborious period of apprenticeship having passed, the greater number of the republics to-day press on with feet firm planted in the road of evolution and progress. This is attested by the increase of their foreign commerce, the development of their ways of communication, the impulse given to public instruction and the free and fair exercise of the right of suffrage, pledge of order and good government. This ever increasing movement of progress foretells a future full of greatness and well being.

There is nothing in the international relations of the American republics which should lead them to other than a peaceful settlement of their differences. The vexatious questions of boundaries, source of much heated feeling and in past years occasion of serious conflicts, have been already, or are now in process of being settled by arbitration. This recourse is for the small and feeble countries a shield of protection for their rights and a prized trophy at the shrine of justice.

On this occasion I owe it to the Conference to recall with profound and sincere admiration the beneficent influence which, in a spirit of peace and universal concord, has been brought by Mr. Root to bear upon the international relations of this republic, placing it in the forefront of modern nations as the standard bearer of right. The simple relation of his acts without detailed commentary, suffices to give an idea of the highmindedness and generosity of view with which so faithfully he has interpreted that spirit of justice characteristic of the thinking majority of the American people.

In his historic voyage to South America, the distinguished ex-Secretary of State, now Senator from New York, expressed with inspiring eloquence the true sentiments of a great nation, when in these memorable words he outlined a complete program of Pan-American international concord:

"We wish," said he, "for no victories but those of peace; for no territory except our own; for no sovereignty except the sovereignty over ourselves. We deem the independence and equal rights of the smallest and weakest member of the family of nations entitled to as much respect as those of the greatest empire, and we deem the observance of that respect the chief guaranty of the weak against the oppresson of the strong. We neither claim nor desire any rights or privileges, or powers that we do not freely concede to every American Republic. We wish to increase our prosperity, to expand our trade, to grow in wealth, in wisdom, and in spirit; but our conception of the true way to accomplish this is not to pull down others and profit by their ruin, but to help all friends to a common prosperity and a common growth, that we may all become greater and stronger."

The absolute conviction with which these fine principles were proclaimed by Mr. Root sufficed to dissipate distrust, to destroy prejudice and to create an atmosphere of harmony and approach that time and later evidences of the same policy of respect for the right and the sovereignty of the other republics have, I hope, cemented into a lasting structure. The Spanish American republics received with fervor the words of friendship contained in these declarations, so full of noble and shining ideals whose reflex breathed an air full of justice and Pan-American fraternity.

To the efforts of Mr. Root is due in a great part that all the American republics were represented in the Second Hague Conference and took part in its deliberations with the same rank as

sovereign and independent entities as the other nations there assembled. At that Conference, following his instructions, the United States delegates introduced and obtained the adoption of the principle prohibiting the use of force, in compulsive settlement of governmental obligations in favor of the citizens of other nations.

This agreement has put an end to one of the most shameful practices and to a most unjust abuse of force. The truth is that scarcely without a single exception in all the cases of armed intervention, in which the great powers were both judge and interested party, coercion was enforced on behalf of absolutely fraudulent claims made by adventurers, who, taking advantage of a state of disorder in some of the republics, obtained unconscionable concessions in order to have a base for claims.

In the conclusion of twenty-four international arbitration treaties with a majority of the countries of Europe, America, and Asia, Mr. Root has placed the United States in the front rank of the peoples who seek justice through law, and so has given an edifying example to other nations for the banishment of force in settlement of every international difference.

South America owes to this great statesman another act of high and most important significance. In the arbitration treaty with England respecting the disputed question of the North Atlantic Coast fisheries, Mr. L. M. Drago of the Argentine Republic has been chosen as one of the arbitrators. For the first time in the history of these international agreements entered into by the great powers and dealing with a matter of so delicate a nature, a citizen of Latin-America is called in as judge. This designation, so flattering to Mr. Drago, is at the same time an act of transcendental significance in that both the United States and England recognize in Latin-American statesmen the high standard of honor and the aptitude for deciding with sane and right judgment complicated questions affecting their interests, and in consequence that they are entitled to the confident belief that in their award all the demands of justice and equity will be impartially considered. It is a step forward through the open participation of the American nationalities in the common labor of confirming the reign of international justice.

It is unnecessary to tire you with a complete relation of Mr. Root's work in the re-establishment of amicable relations with Colombia and Venezuela, the pacification of the Central American republics, the agreements for smoothing out the custom-house bickerings with Germany and France, and the delineation of a policy of concord and mutual consideration with Japan and China. All these acts bear in themselves the seal of a perfect and admirable spirit of fealty and good faith, a statesman's most glorious crest. (Applause.)

The Almighty has planted in the depths of the human soul a divine spark of love and justice which in all times and in all societies are the forces which sustain and impel it.

The deafening roar of the factories, the masterful power of steam and electricity, annihilating space and conquering time in their unceasing career, the grandeur and magnificence of the cities, the pride and the power of a people at the climax of their strength and onward march, are simple manifestations of well being and material progress and will pass away as have passed other grandeur and other civilizations, now covered with the dust of oblivion. But without doubt something survives this vanishing away. It is the ideals which give a soul to the peoples and illuminate their career and which will live and be immortal, pointing the way to newer horizons of peace and good will.

Those who accuse the American people of having no other thought than the almighty dollar, neither know nor have pondered that athwart this marvelous and feverish industrial activity is another manifestation, less clamorous but more fervent and profound. It is the expression of the noble sentiments of a great people, and shows how false the idea of supposing that all here is weighed in the balance with dollars and cents. Were it so, hope in the final triumph of right as the supreme manifestation of democracy would be lost.

Fortunately these noble aspirations of justice and fraternity exist not in vain in the heart of man. Nowhere do we find more beautiful or numerous tributes paid to these virtues than here. This very Conference, dedicated to the promulgation and diffusion of international arbitration ideas, is a fine proof of a vigorous national sentiment condemning the resort to arms when is open the peaceful highway of international arbitration.

That people who with firm protest raised its voice condemning the murder of defenseless Jews and peaceful Armenians, who with praiseworthy disinterestedness lent its support and help to a sister republic in order to establish firmly its independence, who outpoured rivers of blood and treasure to uproot slavery in its own midst, who, first to give help in great misfortunes, responded with generous promptitude in succor of the destroyed Italian cities, is without doubt the people called to bear aloft in the vanguard of the world the standard of international arbitration, for moreover this people has the strength and the power sufficient to make right respected and to defend it, for on right is based its greatness.

The strength of moral sentiment which in this country is so strongly shown in support of the ideal of international peace and brotherhood is an important factor of its final adoption.

Guided by the light of justice radiating from the magnificent starry constellation borne on the flag of this great Republic, the

other nations of America march on firm set in the road of right to proclaim the reign of peace and love which is the eternal law of the universe, established by Him who has dominion, time without end. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: In the unexpected and unavoidable absence of PROF. L. S. ROWE of the University of Pennsylvania, the Chairman of the American Delegation to the recent Pan-American Scientific Congress at Santiago and a member of the last Pan-American Conference, an abstract of the address he had prepared for this occasion will be read by the Secretary.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PAN-AMERICAN SCIENTIFIC CONGRESS AND OF THE APPROACHING PAN-AMERICAN DIPLOMATIC CONFERENCES

PAPER OF PROF. L. S. ROWE

It is becoming increasingly evident that the maintenance of the peace of the world does not depend so much on formal instruments, such as treaties of arbitration or of commerce, as upon that mutual understanding between nations that grows out of the consciousness of community of national interests.

With the traditional faith in mechanism, so characteristic of the American people, we are apt to regard the peace problem of the American continent solved with the signing of the series of arbitration treaties with the republics of this continent, negotiated by Secretary Root. Great as this work has been, it must be supplemented by a conscious and concerted effort to bring about a closer understanding between the peoples of the American continent, based on a better mutual acquaintance of the industrial, economic, social and political conditions prevailing in each country.

It is a significant fact that most of the difficulties that have arisen between the United States and the countries of Latin-America are directly traceable to misunderstandings due to the failure of one or both of the parties to grasp the viewpoint of the other. It is this fact that gives such importance to the international assemblies in which the states of America have taken part. They are not to be judged solely or even primarily by the treaties, conventions and resolutions adopted at such conferences. The true measure of their value can only be determined when we interpret them as successive steps in the formation of a distinctively continental public opinion.

The recognition of the fact that the republics of the American continent, because of their geographical position, the conditions under which they were settled, their peculiar political development

and special racial relations are confronted by a series of problems distinctively American, carries with it the obligation of close co-operation in the solution of these problems. Through an interchange of experience and through co-operative action in those cases in which these problems are of an international rather than of a national character the republics of this continent can be of the greatest service to one another

The first step in this process, however, is the development of an international consciousness of this community of interest. It is because of their contributions to this end that the Pan-American Diplomatic Conferences and the Pan-American Scientific Congresses possess such great importance.

The Pan-American Conferences owe their origin to the far-seeing statesmanship of Secretary Blaine. The first of these was held in Washington in 1889; the second in Mexico City in 1901; the third in Rio Janeiro in 1906 and the fourth will be held in May, 1910. These conferences are of a diplomatic nature, most of the delegates enjoying plenipotentiary powers. The Washington Congress of 1889 was to a large extent experimental. Its greatest achievement was the establishment of the International Bureau of American Republics, which has already contributed so much toward the development of a better understanding between the republics of this continent and which, under its present able Director, the Honorable John Barrett is destined to enjoy far wider influence.

At the Mexican Congress of 1901 the questions considered were of a far more practical nature than at the Washington Conference. This tendency to make the work of the Pan-American Congresses more and more practical and to confine attention to those problems in which co-operative action will give immediate results, has greatly increased the importance of the work of these conferences.

For the Rio Conference of 1906 a definite program was arranged, and the efficiency of the work of the Conference was greatly enhanced by the determination not to permit the introduction of questions foreign to this program. This plan will undoubtedly be followed in the preparations for the Buenos Aires Conference of 1910.

The Pan-American Scientific Congresses have entered as a new factor in the situation. Until the recent Santiago meeting, these congresses were exclusively Latin-American, the first session being held in Buenos Aires in 1898, the second in Montevideo in 1901 and the third in Rio Janeiro in 1905. The decision to invite the United States is an indication of the growth of the Pan-American spirit.

The Congress which met in Chile in December of last year and January of this year was marked by a spirit of friendly co-operation between all the republics of this continent which was a real inspiration to everyone present. The main problem at the

present time is to develop an organic relationship between the Scientific Congresses, on the one hand, and the diplomatic conferences on the other. This can best be done by assigning to the Scientific Congresses the preparation of the material which will form the basis of the deliberations of the Diplomatic Conferences.

The Scientific Congresses enjoy the great advantage that the delegates are unhampered either by diplomatic procedure or by instructions of the respective governments. The free and frank interchange of opinion is thus possible. At these Congresses the results of the most advanced thought on problems of interest to all the countries of the American continent are submitted, and the possibility of united action discussed. Formal treaties and conventions, determining the manner and method of such united action can best be left to the Diplomatic Conferences.

Thus, these two great international assemblies will supplement one another and contribute to that community of thought and action, upon which the peace and progress of the American continent so largely depends. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: It will be our pleasure to listen now to a distinguished representative of that great service which from the foundation of our government has had such splendid tradition. I present REAR ADMIRAL STOCKTON of the United States Navy who was a member of the Naval Conference recently held in London.

THE LONDON NAVAL CONFERENCE OF 1908

ADDRESS OF REAR ADMIRAL C. H. STOCKTON, U. S. N.

International legislative bodies such as congresses, conferences, conventions and commissions are the principal means by which treaties are formulated, international law declared and interpreted, and by which working agreements, of less importance than treaties, are arranged between states as to specific subjects of international interest. It may be said that such bodies to a large extent, if not entirely, codify and establish rules and laws by which arbitral tribunals are governed and in the future they will in all probability be the source from which the great International Courts of an Arbitral or Appellate nature will find in substance the principles and rules to follow and govern them in cases that have arisen either in times of peace or war.

These agreements when not rising to the dignity of treaties are generally known as Conventions and Declarations and when duly signed and ratified become as binding upon all of the signatory powers as the municipal law of their own states. Their effect morally upon the powers not signatory are often as binding as if they had been of the signatory or adhering powers. Such

has been the case of the Declaration of Paris never signed or adhered to by the United States of America, but faithfully followed in its tenets during our later wars.

In Article 7 of the Convention agreed to at the Second Hague Conference relative to the creation of an International Prize Court, October 18, 1907, are found the two following paragraphs:

"If a question of law to be decided is covered by a treaty in force between the belligerent captor and a power which is itself, or whose subject, or citizen, is a party to the proceedings, the Court (the International Prize Court) is governed by the provisions of the said treaty."

"In the absence of such provisions of a treaty the Court shall apply the rules of international law. If no generally recognized rule exists, the Court shall give judgment in accordance with the general principles of justice and equity."

The latter provision has given rise to much discussion and uncertainty and prevented the ratification of this Convention by any power even though its plenipotentiaries had gone so far as to agree to the Convention and sign the formal and official document.

Especially was this the case with Great Britain the power most directly interested in the maritime matters that would concern a prize court of an international character, both on account of her position as a belligerent with the greatest navy in the world, and as a neutral with the greatest mercantile marine. Feeling that a court with only general and vague rules to govern it would be dangerous to her in either character, and at the same time desirous of something more reliable and impartial than a national Court, often partisan and still more often governed by principles and prejudices or traditions at variance with her jurisprudence and usages, Great Britain was impelled to call into being an international Conference of the great maritime powers to draw up a satisfactory declaration of what international law substantially is, in matters that would concern the proposed international prize court. Hence on March 27, 1908, the British Government issued a circular note to certain maritime powers inviting them to send delegates to a Conference to deal with the matters referred to as contained in the second paragraph of Article 7th just read. In this circular note it was stated that

"The discussions which took place at The Hague during the recent Conference showed that on various questions connected with maritime war divergent views and practices prevailed among the nations of the world. Upon some of these subjects an agreement was reached, but on others it was not found possible, within the period for which the Conference assembled, to arrive at an understanding. The impression was gained that the establishment of the International Prize Court would not meet with general acceptance so long as vagueness and uncertainty exist as to the principles which the Court in dealing with appeals brought before it would apply to questions of far reaching importance affecting naval policy and practice."

The subjects upon which an agreement was considered indispensable by the British Government were: *Contraband of war, blockade, the doctrine of continuous voyage, the destruction of neutral prizes before condemnation, unneutral service, the conversion of merchant vessels into warships upon the high seas in war time, the transfer of merchant vessels from a belligerent to a neutral flag; and the determination of the character of property as that of enemy or not by domicile or nationality of the owner.*

The experience at the Second Hague Conference showed certain delays and discordances arising from the great number of nationalities assembled. Uruguay could block the proceedings of a Conference where unanimity was required for decision. Besides, many of the countries assembled at The Hague were either manifest shadows or satellites of more powerful states or had no sea frontiers or maritime interests. Hence Great Britain intended to limit her invitation to those powers whose maritime interests were great enough to materially affect the countries concerned. In the Convention for the Prize Court a bench of fifteen judges was constituted. Eight of these were always to be representatives of the great powers, which were named as Germany, Austria, the United States of America, Great Britain, France, Russia, Italy and Japan. To these powers were added Spain and the Netherlands. Why Spain, I do not know; the Netherlands as containing the seat of the proposed Court and the home of the Peace Conferences. London was agreed upon as the place of meeting of the Conference and the 1st of December, 1908, as the date of assemblage. Sir Edward Grey, the British Foreign Minister, in opening the Conference gave a hearty welcome to the delegates.

On the 26th of February, 1909, the Conference completed its work, agreed to its final Declaration and protocol and finally adjourned. Up to the present time, Germany, France, Great Britain, the United States of America, Austria-Hungary and The Netherlands have signed the Declaration. The period for original signature ends on the 1st of July and by that time it is expected that Russia, Italy, Japan and Spain will also sign. After that date it becomes open to all the states of the world to adhere to the Declaration.

All of the subjects mentioned in the British invitation were concluded satisfactorily except the question of the transformation upon the high seas of merchant vessels into men-of-war and the question of whether the domicile or nationality of the owner should determine the enemy character of goods of the cargo of vessels. These remain open and unsettled, but are minor.

But the great subject of Contraband, of what it consists, of Blockade and the limitations of its area and susceptibility of capture, of unneutral service, freed from vexations and severe

penalties, were settled by the Declaration in a manner greatly to the benefit of the neutral and innocent trader. All of this tends towards the continuance of peaceful relations and the avoidance of friction in the ramifications of commerce in the maritime world —in other words, for the common good.

In contraband, the creation alone of a free list, liberal and well defined, has given complete exemption to many articles which were considered as contraband or as dubious by many countries and hence always uncertain as to carriage by neutral traders. Cotton alone, ruled by the Russians at one time as contraband, is of the greatest importance to us as the great exporting country of that article, while equally important to so great a manufacturing country of textile fabrics as Great Britain. So commerce interlaces us and our interests.

In blockades, paper blockades are done away with and the area of operations of a blockading force restricted to the vicinity of the blockaded port and sea coast. The destination of contraband goods when of a conditional nature is only lawful when the destination is purely a military one, and foodstuffs can no longer be withheld from the innocent population of a belligerent country. It is estimated that American exports made free by the list agreed upon amount in value to more than $400,000,000. The removal of the doctrine of continuous voyage from such matters as foodstuffs and fuel is also a great boon. Such articles constitute a great part of seaborne commerce and according to the old application of the doctrine it might give an unscrupulous belligerent the means of destroying a weaker and innocent neutral by making a fictitious blockade of almost unlimited extent.

But I have no time to burden you with details of this settlement of long standing and vexatious questions, and will sum up the question by a quotation from the report of the American delegation, which says:

"Ten powers have reached an agreement upon matters which if left to divergent practice and solely to national prejudices would have made some of the earnest hopes of the Conference at The Hague and the desires often expressed by the government of the United States impossible of realization."

The enforcement of the obligations of the Declaration, touching neutrals in every article as it does, will be almost automatic and will not require the creation of any additional or special force as international police. In time of war belligerents are very susceptible to the influence of strong neutrals who in this case, in any war likely to arise, will be in the great majority and will be impelled not only by their treaty obligations but by their own commercial interests to see the articles of this Declaration fulfilled if necessary by their own existing forces. The obligation of Article 66 of the Declaration states that the "Signatory

Powers undertake to insure the mutual observance of the rules contained in the present Declaration in any war in which all the belligerents are parties thereto. They will therefore issue the necessary instructions to their authorities and to their armed forces and will take such measures as may be required in order to insure that it will be applied by their courts, and more particularly their prize courts."

So much for the future of the Declaration of London, which, while linked with the International Prize Court, can stand alone as an agreement even though that Court be delayed or indefinitely postponed in its creation.

The Declaration requires the ratification of the Signatory Powers and with us the confirmation of the Senate, it provides for an original life of twelve years before the possibility of withdrawal of any ratifying power; after which period such possibility exists only at the end of successive periods of six years. It must be observed as a whole and provision is made for the adherence by powers not represented in the Conference.

So far as I have been able to ascertain, this work of the Conference has met with general approval.

Dr. Thomas Lawrence, a distinguished writer upon International Law, broad in his humanity, as well as skilled in technical knowledge of the subject, already says that "The declaration of London will be a great landmark in the history of International Law."

I will close by quoting the words of that distinguished jurist, the first British delegate at The Hague, Sir Edward Fry, at the close of the Second Hague Conference.

"I have not," he said, "the intention to pass in review the works of this Conference. I will allow myself, however, to remark that of all of the projects that we have adopted, the most remarkable, in my opinion, is that of the Prize Court, because it is the first time in the history of the world that there has been created a court truly international. International law of to-day is hardly more than a chaos of opinions which is often contradictory; and of decisions of national courts, based upon national laws. We hope to see little by little formed in the future around this Court, a system of laws truly international, which will owe its existence to the principles of justice and which consequently will have not only the right to the admiration of the world but to the respect and obedience of civilized nations."

I trust that it will not be too much to expect that the contribution made by the Naval Conference of London, the first arising from the Prize Court Convention, will realize in part at least the hopes of this distinguished and revered English jurist. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: As the next speaker I have the pleasure of presenting a gentleman who has more than once served our country in diplomatic undertakings, who has been a member of the Pan-American Conferences and one of our Delegation to the Second Hague Conference—Hon. WILLIAM I. BUCHANAN.

THE IMPORTANCE OF CONSERVATIVE WORK FOR ARBITRATION

ADDRESS OF HON. WILLIAM I. BUCHANAN

Beginning with the Congress of Panama in 1826 one hundred and twenty International Conferences have been held in which nations have officially taken part. The first of these in which international arbitration appears to have been considered was the Congress of Lima in 1864, in which eight American countries participated. The second was the Pan-American Conference of Washington in 1890 which adopted arbitration as a principle of American international law.

While the new world may thus apparently lay claim to the birthplace of this most far reaching factor in the direction of international justice and peace, it is well to remember that in neither instance were the recommendations of the conference ratified by the governments represented therein, and it was not until the closing days of the first Hague Conference that out of seeming failure the principle first secured a firm place through the creation of the Permanent Arbitration Court of The Hague, without doubt the greatest accomplishment of human reason during the 19th century.

While but little use has been made of this Court and while it has been obliged to withstand much criticism and even ridicule from many who believed and still believe that the peace of the world cannot be secured through such a means, but that more radical and direct steps must be taken, it is encouraging to note the constantly widening recognition manifested in the efficiency of this great world Court of Arbitration through its growing use by different nations and especially since the Second Hague Conference in the deliberation of which all the nations of the world for the first time joined.

All national progress is of slow growth and by reason of conflicting interests and racial differences the growth of international progress is slower still. As an illustration of the persistent and continued efforts required to reach what to many seem meager results toward improved conditions and the general good of the world, it is worth remembering that in addition to the one hundred and twenty international official conferences that have been held during the past seventy years, one hundred and ninety International Conferences of an unofficial character covering all,

fields of human activity and thought have also been held. There has resulted from these great forces however, as monuments in the world's history, the Permanent Arbitration Court at The Hague, the Conventions of the Second Peace Conference at The Hague, the International Red Cross Association and the several concerted international movements now fixedly at work to diminish suffering and disease and thus prolong and increase the productive forces of the world. As a logical sequence to these fixed beginnings, international progress in the direction of peace and good order moves today more rapidly and certainly toward greater things than it has ever done. While the scope and extent of international arbitration agreements and treaties is constantly being enlarged a more important matter is that they are entered into to-day with greater care and with more seriousness than ever before and that these steps are voluntary on the part of nations. Indeed, an arbitration agreement or treaty which is not voluntary and does not represent the willing acquiescence of a government and people can have no value whatever. Arbitration cannot be compulsory.

In our desire to see the peace of the world established and fixed is it not possible that many of us overlook or fail to see in our dreams of greater things, practical helps we might give to the work in which we are interested. Is it not probable that one of the greatest forces we can exert toward international good understanding and peace lies in persistent encouragement and effort on our part to bring about a wider and more extended use of the present permanent Court at The Hague and that another lies in the effort each of us can exert with ourselves toward neutralizing our national pride and sensitiveness by the avoidance of intemperate speech in moments of international danger where our interests are in some way involved.

It can without doubt be truly said that the Permanent Court at The Hague does not represent perfection. Fortunately the same thing can be said of all governmental machinery everywhere, so that need not disturb us. The development of this Court into the more ideal permanent Court of International Justice recommended by the last Hague Conference will come when public opinion is ready and demands such a change, but it will not reach the light until some mathematical mind can devise some method by which forty-four individual, sovereign nations can have equal representation in a court of not exceeding seventeen members. This was the rock upon which the success of the project struck at the Second Hague Conference. There was no difficulty in this regard in connection with the organization of the International Court of Justice for Central America since there were but five signatory countries and the court was organized with five judges, each country having equal rank with the other.

The important things are the three great inherent qualities possessed by the present Court and that every possible advantage should be taken of them. These qualities are:

First. The signature of all the nations of the world to the Constitution, procedure and jurisdiction of the Court.

Second. Nations submitting differences to its decision do so voluntarily.

Third. Its decisions are definitive and final and will of themselves grow into a code of precedents that will prevent many international disputes.

What greater help can we lend toward international quiet and neighborly relations with the world at large than to center our efforts toward securing for ourselves and the world the most extended use possible of these great features of this International Court.

And now, with regard to the second point, we all know that the chief foundation stone underlying all serious international disturbances is national pride, the essential leaven without which there can be neither progress nor development. Admitting, however, that this great racial quality is a chief source of danger when brought into play in international disputes, certainly no one of us would be patient for a moment with a people lacking this pride, nor with any criticism of the constant and growing efforts made throughout our own country to increase in the young respect and loyalty for our flag, which to them and to us represents sovereignty and national unity. Neither could any of us, no matter how much we might decry the building of a navy, keep back a feeling of intense national pride in that splendid body of men, if he stood on the deck of one of our vessels of war as the ship came abreast of Mt. Vernon and saw every man on board face the Tomb of Washington and stand at attention while the colors dropped to half mast and taps sounded from the bugle. This sentiment, this pride is the great quality that moves nations and never will be nor should be destroyed. What is required is that we should cultivate along parallel lines with this great quality in all of us an attitude of fairness and calmness toward questions that arise wherein our interests and those of other countries conflict and a willingness to admit the possibility that all the right is not on our side of the question. This with a readiness on our part to permit those in authority to adjust differences that arise between us and other nations free from the pressure of views that while often sincere are more often selfish and usually immature and sentimental will reduce to a small number the cases that would require arbitral decision.

If we can in some manner individually adjust ourselves to this attitude and will by our encouragement and voice lend to the present Permanent Court at The Hague the full force of a

world's confidence and support, we will have done much to bring about an era of international peace and good understanding that might even make unnecessary the discussion of disarmament, since that question would then take care of itself. (Applause.)

At the close of his address Mr. Buchanan made the following remarks:

May I say that while, fortunately for some of us, justice is tardy, I think it proper in a meeting such as this to say that you have in this room the man who more than all others devoted his energy, thought, time and wonderful capacity for work in the endeavor made by the United States Delegation to work out a Permanent Judicial Court at The Hague. The failure to carry the plan through was certainly the greatest possible success, because the project for the Court, which was his work, was unanimously recommended by the Conference. I suppose that in some way when the world demands this Court, some person will evolve a scheme by which its judges can be designated. I refer with great pleasure to one of my warmest friends, Dr. James Brown Scott, a member of the American Delegation at the Second Peace Conference at The Hague. (Applause.)

I have referred to the Central America Court of Justice, and have been asked by two or three gentlemen to say a word about some of the features of that Court. I had the very great pleasure and honor to take part in the Conference which created that Court, as a representative of our government. It was an added pleasure that I was able to attend in the same capacity at its inauguration in Cartago, in Costa Rica. This Court would be in many ways a model, but I am afraid we will all require many more Conferences to bring us to the point where we, for instance, would be ready to accept some of the foundations of that Court. For instance, its judges are not designated by the Executives of the signatory countries but by the Congress of the country, and they take their oath of office before that Congress. They are paid out of a common fund, to which each of the countries obligates itself to contribute a fixed sum each year. In the matter of jurisdiction the Court is given so much authority that it can, in case a difficulty between two of the signatory countries comes before it, fix the "statu quo" in which the two countries must remain, pending the consideration and decision of the question brought before the Court. In other words, it is possible for the Court, with the power voluntarily given it by the five signatory countries, to prevent a war by insisting and ordering the two governments which are parties to a controversy to maintain the position they occupy at the moment they go before the Court, so that they could neither buy arms, enlist men, nor take any of the preparatory steps for war against the other party. This Court

is taken earnestly by those who compose it. It is a serious undertaking on the part of the signatory countries, and I hope this Conference and every man who appreciates sincerity of motive and purpose on the part of those entering into such engagements as are represented by this Court, will extend to them and to the Central American countries which have joined in this undertaking their hearty sympathy and moral encouragement in every way. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Buchanan has made so eloquent an introduction of the next speaker I need not do more than present him—Dr. JAMES BROWN SCOTT of the State Department.

THE PROPOSED INTERNATIONAL COURT OF ARBITRAL JUSTICE

ADDRESS OF HON. JAMES BROWN SCOTT

If the Constitution of the Court of Arbitral Justice were a mathematical question, as my good friend Mr. Buchanan has just suggested, I would hesitate to stand here in your presence. The question of arbitration is not, however, a question of mathematics. It is simply a question of doing justice by simple means, the selection of disinterested persons in order to decide the right or wrong of a question. The number of times to which a nation may resort to arbitration will merely mean that the resort, growing more and more frequent, is developed into a habit. Mathematics are somewhat involved, but merely to count up the incidents, not to determine whether we should resort to arbitration or not. In the same way I never knew until tonight that mathematics had anything to do with the situation of any court in any part of the world. If so, I would be incompetent to address you, because I was "conditioned" in mathematics on entering college, I graduated without having removed those conditions, and I am still before you in an unmathematical state!

But Mr. Buchanan referred to an institution which refutes the mathematical argument. The Prize Court, of which he spoke, performs that miracle of reducing forty-four states to fifteen. There are fifteen judges in this Prize Court, eight being permanent and seven being appointed for a greater or less time. Therefore it follows that the equity of representation in an international court is not necessary, else this court could not have been established; for admittedly the judges do not represent each country, or each country does not have a judge, because then instead of fifteen there would be forty-four.

The Prize Court was accepted by the smaller nations, although they did not have the equity of representation, because they felt it was necessary to have a neutral court to safeguard the rights

of neutrals; and as they (the smaller nations) were likely to be neutrals, they were willing to confide to this neutral court, although not equally represented, questions involving right and international justice. And when the peoples of the world have learned that an international tribunal, composed of judges acting under a sense of judicial responsibility, is the best guarantee of their rights, is the refuge of the weak against the strong, they will constitute the court of arbitral justice, not according to lines of mathematical precision, but according to a necessity which is self-evident, and which determines, which forces the establishment of this court! (Applause.)

Mr. Buchanan would like to see somebody who could inform you *how* to compose this court of arbitral justice! Ladies and Gentlemen, I am bold enough to suggest to you a mode of forming it without any great difficulty, by using machinery already in existence. The Prize Court was accepted by an overwhelming majority of the nations represented at the Second Hague Conference. It was opposed by one nation. It is a court composed permanently, whose judges are determined, known in advance. It does not meet, however, until there is a case presented for determination, as it is to decide prize cases, and war is necessarily involved because prizes arise only from the capture of property during war.

Now, then, see how simple it is. The nations of the world, with a single exception, accepted and voted for the International Prize Court. This was constituted and composed of fifteen judges, eight of whom are permanent, forming a permanent nucleus for the development of jurisprudence. Very well; take this permanent and existing machinery, invest this court which is existent or which will exist as soon as the nations shall have ratified the conventions which their representatives voted; invest this known and existent court with the jurisdiction of a court of arbitral justice by means of an international agreement. If all the nations do not wish to invest the court with this jurisdiction, let it sit for those nations which are willing to do so; and when it so sits let it sit as a court of arbitral justice, in accordance with the drafted conventions adopted by The Hague and recommended to the Powers for the procedure of a court of arbitral justice. In that way, ladies and gentlemen, you simply avail yourselves of existing machinery. you enlarge its jurisdiction. you enhance the importance and dignity of the judges and you escape the difficulty of a mathematical problem, because the system of classification has already been accepted.

I had intended to speak upon what I believe my friend, Governor Montague, would have said, had he been here, namely, to give you an academic exposition as to the establishment of a court of arbitral justice; but I thought perhaps I would follow,

however feebly and at whatever distance there might be between us, in the foot-steps of Mr. Buchanan.

The advantages resulting from a court of arbitration, as distinct from a temporary tribunal, are many and varied. I shall merely refer to a few, because I shall not trespass much longer upon your time. The so-called "permanent" court of 1899 is permanent merely in name. It has to be created for each case and with the decision of each case it passes out of existence. In the second place it is not a court; it is at most a panel, for each nation has the right of selecting four persons capable of sitting as judges, should they be selected. Nations having a difference then select from this panel of judges a certain number to form a temporary tribunal. The name *permanent* is a misnomer; the name *court* is likewise a misnomer and it does not and it cannot fulfil the essentials, the great blessings of a court: namely, it cannot build up a system of arbitral jurisprudence, because a temporary tribunal has no connection with its predecessor; there is no *esprit de corps;* it is isolated, decides for itself. Whereas, if the court is permanent, composed of judges by profession, it builds up a jurisprudence which determines a precedent, which follows that precedent and which introduces the principle of *stare decisis.*

What we want in international law is a court of international justice, permanent in nature and not necessary to be constituted anew for each case; composed of judges acting under a sense of judicial responsibility, always in session at The Hague, ready, willing, desirous to take the jurisdiction of cases presented to it, and last (but far from least), a court supported by the common consent and common expense of the nations that will supply to litigants a court of international law, in international law. And if the comparatively small expense of such a court be borne by all the nations, there is no great item of expense for each case weighing upon a few nations and preventing them from that free and voluntary resort to arbitration, which would be natural and easy if the tribunal were permanent.

In conclusion, ladies and gentlemen, I permit myself to say that the current of history is with us; we may resist it if we will, we cannot overcome it. I shall not be pedantic and refer in detail to an illustration which is in itself a demonstration: I will merely suggest it. It is said the essence of arbitration is the freedom in the choice of judges; and the very persons who maintain this, point with pride to the system of voluntary arbitration in Rome. It is a fact that at the beginning of Roman history arbitration arose by contract, and there were no courts other than contract courts. It is also a fact that when Rome became more established self-help seemed to be inimical to justice. There was a permanent panel at first, and members of the senate later. Magistrates were chosen from which panel the litigants chose their

judges; and lastly, when justice was seen to be the great need of the nation, a court, in the empire of Rome, was imposed by the state upon its citizens. We have already made the first two steps in the history of arbitration. We signed our agreement and chose our arbitrator,—a pope, a bishop, a priest, a king. The second step was reached in 1899, when at The Hague a permanent panel was created from which that choice could be made; and now we stand upon the very threshold of the third and crowning step, namely, the Second Hague Conference adopted a code of thirty-five articles, a drafted convention for the organization, the jurisdiction and the procedure of a court of arbitration, composed of permanent judges and acting under a sense of responsibility. When will the judges enter? When international opinion insists that they shall enter; and when that period is reached, the problems of mathematics will be forgotten in the triumph of the achievement. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I now have pleasure in introducing a judicial officer of the City of Berlin—Hon. KARL VON LEWINSKI.

INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION FROM A GERMAN POINT OF VIEW

ADDRESS OF JUDGE KARL VON LEWINSKI

Mr. President, Mr. Smiley, Ladies and Gentlemen: Being a German, I cannot omit to-day to thank President Butler for his very friendly attitude towards Germany, shown in the paper of this morning. I dare say Dr. Butler knows the very soul of real Germany and he has rightly interpreted it. There is no reason in the world why England should distrust the earnest, frank declaration of our government, repeated over and over again, that the purpose of our navy is only to protect our coasts and our growing trade, but never to aid aggressive politics. The very last months have shown that Germany is willing to do everything short of war to maintain peace. This feeling does not only occupy the minds of our diplomats and of the people as a whole, it has also won and occupied the thoughts of our leading men in the science of international law.

I ask your permission to submit a few remarks on the subject of international arbitration from the German point of view—not from a political standpoint, as, being only a jurist, I shall not trespass upon the ground of high politics—but from a mere judicial point of view, or better, from the standpoint of modern German theory. I shall not present impressions or thoughts gained in this country but confine myself to the knowledge and the ideas which I have brought with me from Germany.

It has been a striking feature of the international law on arbitration until a short time ago that its representatives have either striven after the unreachable stars or have shown a remarkable pessimism and lack of confidence. The former class has grown especially in the United States; the latter in Germany. The wonderful, but too unworldly, ideals of *your* great optimists have been reduced by your own diplomatic representatives to the practicable propositions, which have already become to a great extent the existing law of nations; our representatives seem still to maintain their pessimistic view to a certain extent, but there is hope that after a short time they will find the way on which you are proceeding and that then your keen and daring initiative, combined with our slow but cautious and faithful conservatism, will bear splendid results.

In saying there is hope, I want to express my opinion that the German science of international law is now awakening and will soon be ready to prepare the path for our diplomatic representatives, leading them to the point where you are waiting for us. The German method of carrying on reforms is not the experimental,—our leaders are accustomed not to step on any ground until it has been thoroughly investigated and cleared by science. It is an undeniable fact that the German science of international law on arbitration has not done its duty in this respect. It has not followed the transformation of this province of law until a short time ago. One reason for this fact is that the progress of the modern international law in Germany has not been promoted by public sentiment. We owe our unification, our empire, our nation and our position as a world power to the force of our arms; our rapid development has been the direct consequence of the victorious war against France. We know as well as any that we have always been so proud of our powerful army and have felt so safe under its protection that we have neglected to consider the possibilities of a peaceful settlement of international affairs. The public sentiment, however, has changed since our foreign trade and our colonial interests have increased so rapidly, and now science is pushed forward by public opinion to clear the way for arbitration.

Another reason for the German delay in developing modern international law has been that this science is still very young and that it always takes us a certain time to understand a new movement. Even to-day the subject is not at all settled and we are still living in a period of revolution. The old doctrines, founded by Grotius and his followers, have been thrown overboard by practice. The old customary law has been replaced by a great number of treaties, which now are in fact the principal source of international law. The main objects of these treaties are no more the politics, as a hundred years ago, but the

commercial, financial and similar peaceful relations between the nations. The world's intercourse is the principal object of the new law of nations. And this fact stamps a new character on this law. It is not now one protecting the separate interests of a single nation, its purpose is not to protect the sovereignty of one state from intrusions by others; but its principal feature is the solidarity of all nations, the common interest of all states in the conservation of what is just and right, the prevention of wrongs done by any member of this great union to any other member. This change of the old doctrine of international law will not only influence the theory, but also the practical politics of all states, and as I have said, German science is now awakening to this modern aspect of the law of nations.

Let me touch briefly some consequences of this modern aspect.

For a long time we have been accustomed to make a strict distinction between international controversies of a judicial and of a political nature and to apply the possibility of arbitration only to the former controversies, because, as as been said, only these allow a judicial formulation of an issue.

The convention of The Hague has also adopted this theory. The distinction is founded on the old doctrine, under which political questions formed the main substance of the international law. As to-day the controversies between nations arise principally out of questions of traffic, their nature is as a rule judicial and not political, so that even from the standpoint of the older doctrine the number of questions which cannot be submitted to arbitration is already very small. But more than that: I dare say that at the present state in the development of solidarity there is, in fact, no international controversy, which from a judicial standpoint is unfit to be handled by a court of arbitration. Even if controversies contain questions of a political nature, they will arise as controversies of law, as judicial controversies. No nation will bring forward at the present time a claim or demand which rests only and openly on mere interests not backed by an alleged *right*. All claims will have at least the *form* of a legal controversy, although political questions may be involved. The latter fact does not make a court unable to deal with the controversy and to decide it so far as the judicial part of the controversy goes. In most cases it will even be possible to reach a decision on the merits, which will settle the matter, and if not, the result will be, at least, to show that the controversy is not based on justice but on passion, on egoism or mere desire for unjust gains and power. Such a statement would also probably settle the matter. The consequence of this point of view is that one seemingly important reservation generally applied in arbitration treaties proves unscientific and superfluous.

A perfectly different question is whether a controversy in a certain case may be so thoroughly connected with political interests that political considerations do not allow it to be submitted to arbitration, although arbitration would be able to handle it. This question is—in German theory—left to the diplomats and so far it is still a settled rule in Germany that controversies may arise, the judicial decision of which might not serve the interests of the state and that for this reason certain reservations of a political nature ought to be embodied in treaties of arbitration. Questions of this nature are more likely to arise within the narrow boundaries of Europe than in the splendid territorial isolation of the United States, and most likely in states which are surrounded not only by foreign states of equal force but also by foreign races, as Germany, Austria and the Balkan States.

The political reservations deemed advisable are usually limited to the questions of sovereignty or independence, vital interests, honor and interests of third nations.

While, as I have said, it does not belong to theory to attack the existence of these limits as a whole, one must be permitted to criticize the formulation of these reservations. If we do that, it appears immediately, that the last named reservation,—the interests of third nations—is entirely superfluous, because self-understood. No person and no state can by submission to arbitration affect the rights of a third party, who is a stranger to the controversy.

The reservation of questions of honor seems to be not only most dangerous, because especially likely to rouse passion without just reason, but also perfectly unjustifiable, because not to the true interests of nations. Questions of mere honor, unconnected with questions of vital interests should never be the ground for raising arms against another nation. Is it really true that the alleged violation of a nation's honor can only be cured by blood? This opinion seems to me just as obsolete and unjust as the idea that a man's violated honor demands the uncertain and—only too often—unjust decision of arms. This prejudice, which still rules in continental Europe to a certain extent, although it has been killed fortunately in England and in this country, is still more unbearable in the relations of nations. The recognition of the injured people's right by a court of the highest standing ought to be a sufficient satisfaction. (Applause.)

The reservation of questions of vital interests seems rather indefinite and is in its real meaning identical with the reservation of independence or sovereignty. As to the latter reservation it is obvious that no court of arbitration can have the power to intrude on the position of a nation as an independent, sovereign state. All states must have the possibility to regulate their foreign and domestic affairs in their own way and as they think it reason-

able and useful for their own citizens, even if in doing so they violate the interests of foreign states. They have only to regard the *rights* of other nations, not their wishes or interests. The interference with this regulation of the private affairs of a state would be a violation of its independence and at the same time of its vital interests. It is natural that a nation will not leave the determination of matters like these to arbitration.

Thus the reservations which ought to be stated in arbitration treaties are in fact limited to one, and as I have indicated, we in Germany do not go so far as to consider this one reservation unnecessary.

Now as to another consequence of the new law of nations.

The fundament of modern international law being not the sovereignty but the solidarity of nations, the latter is necessarily the ground on which to build the procedure for settling international controversies, and the simple consequence of this doctrine is the general, obligatory treaty of arbitration, as proposed by the American Delegation at The Hague.

This proposition has been rejected on account of the opposition of the German delegates. Germany has not opposed obligatory arbitration, but only the *general* obligatory system, and even there only the form, not the principle. Her delegates considered the different methods of a world treaty, as presented by America and other nations, not ripe to carry the idea to a success. It seems to me that this standpoint was at least partly due to the old doctrine which considered the sovereignty as the main object of the law of nations and saw a diminution of this sovereignty in any participation of foreign powers in the regulation of a nation's affairs. This point of view does not agree with the modern aspect of the international law. Even if a general treaty contains possibilities which cannot be foreseen, even if a state by entering into such a treaty may be obliged to accept any other nation as a member of the union, even if all nations or governments are not equally trustworthy,—the principle of the solidarity of all nations ought to be stronger than the vague possibility of difficulties which perhaps might occur in a far future.

A third consequence of the new international law as a law of the world's intercourse will be that its norms will have to resemble in a certain sense the private law of a single nation. It will need rules on property rights, on rights out of contract and out of torts, it will need rules on limitation, on *res judicata*, which seems to me an especially important topic, and so on. And here is the field, where we can foresee a most interesting struggle between the different systems of law, especially between those which now govern the civilized world,—the common law and the civil law with their various branches. I do not mean to say that the international arbitrators will have to apply the one or the other in

international controversies, but I mean to say that the law of nations will possibly form its own rules as to quasi-private relations after the pattern of the one or the other system. This will be the greatest test between two systems of law ever seen. The common law has already gained a remarkable victory by the adoption of the principle of a permanent court of arbitration. For this court, after it shall have been established on the simple scheme proposed by Mr. Scott, means the adoption of the common law principle of *stare decisis* as one of the most important sources of the modern law of nations. In other points perhaps the civil law may prevail. Not only the arbitrators, but also the other jurists from both sides of the ocean, will thus become accustomed to look out for the law of the other side; they will find it necessary to know it better, they will study it, will recognize its advantages and thus the development of the international law may cause that the national law of the parties and of other nations might adopt rules of law from the other side and incorporate them into their own legal system, approaching thus more and more the distant but wonderful ideal of a uniform world law.

I do not hesitate to say that the truth of the modern law of nations is gaining ground every day among German jurists and diplomats and it seems obvious to us as well as to you that nobody will be able for any length of time to resist the demands of the modern age. If the plans and propositions, which are now before the nations, are carried to a success, we shall have made another important step towards the great ideal of everlasting peace which has been pushed forward so energetically and admirably by the great men of this country. (Applause.)

The Conference then adjourned until the following morning.

Third Session

Thursday Morning, May 20, 1909

THE CHAIRMAN: As the first speaker of the session I have pleasure in introducing a distinguished guest from Canada—Hon. JUSTICE J. J. MACLAREN of the Ontario Court of Appeal.

OUR INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY: AN OBJECT LESSON

ADDRESS OF HON. JUSTICE MACLAREN, D. C. L., LL. D.

The subject of International Arbitration which is the key-note of these conferences brings vividly to my mind one of the most agreeable reminiscences of my early life. Shortly after leaving college and while still a law student, it was my good fortune to be appointed British secretary to a Board of International Arbitrators appointed to settle the claims of the Hudson's Bay Company against the United States for the property which the Company had owned in what is now the States of Oregon and Washington, south of parallel 49° which had been fixed upon as the international boundary. The peaceful solution of what had been for years a rankling and irritating controversy made at the time a deep impression on my mind which still remains, and it was a rare privilege thus early in life to come in close contact with some of the prominent men of the continent—with the members of the British Embassy in Washington and the Arbitrators, one a retired Federal Judge and the other a leading Canadian statesman. Of the others engaged in the arbitration I will name only one, the Hon. Caleb Cushing, who was the leading counsel for the United States, and who had been its Attorney-General, and was perhaps the foremost lawyer of this country after the death of Webster.

The subject assigned to me for this morning is "Our International Boundary." My acquaintance with a part of it began early. My boyhood home was on the northern foothills of the Adirondack Mountains, on the Lower Canada side of parallel 45°, which there forms the International Boundary. Our farm produce was sold and our purchases made at one of the old time "line stores"—built upon the line with one counter on the American side and the other on the Canadian, the goods of each country being kept carefully on its own side. The iron post marking the boundary to which we often hitched our horses, stood directly opposite the front door. On the other side of the road the farmer owned land

on each side of the line and it was no uncommon sight to see him ploughing across the boundary in a field partly in each country, or the cattle grazing quietly in such a field. The farmers on both sides patronized the line stores, buying goods indiscriminately from each counter without being harassed by Custom House officers. They were nearly all free traders, in practice at least, in those days on both sides of the line—living in a state of Arcadian simplicity that hostile tariffs ended years ago. Such was the peaceful condition of at least a part of the rural boundary on the land.

The immense bodies of fresh water which separate the two countries have for nearly a century presented a spectacle of a like freedom from all warlike demonstration or display. In April, 1817, without a formal treaty, or even a convention, by a simple interchange of short letters between the British Minister, Mr. Bagot, and Mr. Rush, the American Acting-Secretary of State, which did not require or receive the sanction of the Senate of the United States, it was agreed that the naval force to be maintained on the Lakes forming the boundary should be confined to the following: On Lake Ontario to one vessel not exceeding 100 tons and armed with an 18 lb. cannon. On the Upper Lakes to two vessels not exceeding the like burden and armed with like force; and on Lake Champlain to one such vessel. It was a simple stipulation that might be terminated by either country on six months' notice. To their credit be it said that the two countries not only kept strictly within the agreed limit, but actually dispensed with war vessels entirely, and that this pacific condition has continued for ninety years. May the day be far distant when any contrary policy may obtain.

The first treaty defining the boundary between the two countries was that of Paris in 1782, by which the independence of the thirteen States was acknowledged by England. Since then different portions of it have from time to time been settled or defined by the following conventions or Treaties, and by arbitrations under them, viz., The Treaty of London, 1794, Ghent 1814, London 1818 and 1827, Washington 1846 and 1871, and finally the Convention-Treaty of Washington of 1903 under which the boundary between Alaska and the Yukon Territory was settled by arbitration.

So far as I am aware the above Treaty of London, 1794, was the first treaty providing for the settlement of a vexed question by international arbitration. It provided for two such Boards—one to determine what was really the St. Croix River which was by the treaty of Paris to form in part the boundary between what is now the State of Maine and the province of New Brunswick; the other to settle the respective claims of the subjects or citizens of the two countries against the government of the other.

The negotiators of this treaty were Lord Grenville for Great Britain, and John Jay, the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, for the United States. To these two men, I believe, belongs the distinguished honor of having been the first to provide for such a mode of settlement, and the fathers of International Arbitration, that in these days is obtaining such world-wide acceptance.

The boundary line thus settled and defined is the longest between any two countries in the world. The peaceful condition of the fresh water portion of it I have already mentioned. The land portion is equally free from military display. Instead of being flanked by frowning forts and batteries, as is so frequently the case on the frontiers in European countries, one might almost travel from end to end of it throughout the whole length of the 4,000 miles, without seeing a single soldier in uniform on either side of the line. What an object-lesson both on land and water for those nations at present so heavily burdened, and one may say cursed, with militarism.

But what might have proved the greatest triumph for the principles for which this Conference stands is something regarding our international boundary that is likely to be decided within the next few months. Most of you are aware of what is known as the Waterways Treaty agreed to between the Governments of the two countries in January of the present year, and which would no doubt have been ratified ere this had not a member of the United States Senate succeeded in persuading that body to add a rider granting to his State an additional advantage without conceding any equivalent or compensation to the other side.

This Treaty provides, *inter alia,* that the navigation of all boundary waters shall forever continue free and open for the commerce of both countries; also that all obstructions or diversions of water on either side shall be regulated by a permanent International Court composed of six commissioners, three named by each country, subject to certain equitable principles detailed in the Treaty. Special provision is made for the amount of water to be drawn off on either side for power purposes and the generation of electricity at Sault Ste. Marie at the outlet of Lake Superior, and at Niagara Falls, while fully preserving the scenic beauty of that great wonder of nature, the common heritage of our two countries. It is also provided that any other difficulty along the common frontier shall be referred to this Commission whenever the government of either country shall so request.

With regard to the rider added in the Senate respecting the division of the water at Sault Ste. Marie at the instance of the Senator from Michigan, I wish carefully to avoid expressing any opinion or entering into controversy as to the merits or demerits of the proposition, but the mere fact itself serves to call attention prominently to the unsatisfactory provision of having to submit

an arrangement settled and agreed upon between the two governments, no doubt largely on the principle of give and take, to the approval of an elective body, where there is such a tremendous temptation to attempt to gain local popularity by standing out for some one-sided advantage. From the statement made in the Canadian House of Commons last Friday by the Premier, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, it appears that this attempted amendment has actually imperilled and may yet possibly wreck the whole scheme.

It has often been to me a cause of great surprise that the more civilized nations whose subjects or citizens have been so long accustomed to settle their local differences through the Courts and by arbitration, have been as a rule so tardy in learning to apply the same principle in the settlement of their international difficulties. As to these latter, many of them have continued to cling to the code of ethics attributed by Wordsworth to Rob Roy:

> "For why?—because the good old rule
> Sufficeth them, the simple plan,
> That they should take who have the power
> And they should keep who can."

And this course had not been without its Christian apologists. I remember less than twenty years ago hearing the editor of one of the leading religious journals on this continent declare with great emphasis in an international gathering, that the principles of the Sermon on the Mount had no application to national or international affairs.

Again, let us take another illustration from a narrower field. How often do we find officers of great corporations ready to practice and justify methods of business and policies for the corporate benefit that they would scorn to use in their personal affairs or for individual profit—men amiable and considerate in their private relations who are tyrants and pirates in their corporate capacity. We all know that the Dr. Jekylls and the Mr. Hydes really exist outside the imagination and the pages of Stevenson. So also with many public men respecting public matters. The fact is that while in a measure we have as individuals become civilized and Christianized, we still remain as nations and collectively largely barbarian and heathen. We need to cultivate not only the individual conscience but also the corporate and the national consciences as well.

In my opinion there is great necessity for our getting back to first principles. Nearly three thousand years ago the wise man declared that "Divers weights and divers measures are an abomination." Such is an apt description of the divers standards generally applied by us moderns in national, corporate and individual concerns. We have been gradually adopting the Christian standard for the latter while largely retaining the pagan standard for the two former. The principles advocated at these Confer-

ences, and sought to be applied at the Hague Conferences and by its tribunals are based upon the truth of the other statement also enunciated by the wise man that "Righteousness exalteth a nation but sin is a reproach to any people." (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: It is an unusual pleasure to be able to present to the Conference the highest official representative in this country of the oldest nation in the world—His Excellency, Dr. WU TING-FANG, the Chinese Minister.

CHINA'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS ARBITRATION

ADDRESS OF DR. WU TING-FANG

A proper appreciation of China's attitude towards arbitration should be preceded by a little study of her attitude towards the old and barbarous method of settling international disagreements, namely, war. There is no existing nation in the world that has a longer history than China. She has seen the rise and fall of the ancient Egyptian dynasties; the expansion of the Persian Empire; the conquests of Alexander; the irresistible advance of the Roman legions; the deluge of the Teutonic hordes from the north; the break up of the Empire of Charlemagne and the birth of the nations of modern Europe. No small part of our history is concerned, like that of Western States, with the toil and trouble of war,—wars of conquest, and of aggression, revolutionary and rebellious, wars against savages, wars very fierce and bloody, when the bodies of the dead piled up mountain high and their blood flowed like rivers. Our history before the Christian era dealt principally with the conquest of our national home by force of arms by invaders, while from the 2nd century B. C. down to the 14th century it was one long interminable struggle with the hordes of Tartars from the north. Apart from these great and national military movements, there were numerous internecine wars. The feudal period, stretching over nine centuries before the Christian era, was especially rich in deeds of military prowess, and ever after that portion of our annals is known as the "Warring States." Our history bears testimony to as many deeds of desperate valor as that of any nation, while to this day many of the eminent generals of olden times enjoy the honor and worship due to them as demigods. A Chinese scholar will tell you that the most renowned Emperor of ancient days, the founder of the Chou dynasty, was the Emperor Wu Wang, the Warlike Prince. Not a few of our national odes and folk-songs have for their favorite subject the life of men of the camp.

It is well known that our people make good soldiers. We need not turn to the pages of our ancient history to prove this. Under General Gordon, better known as Chinese Gordon, who served

under our Government during the Taiping rebellion, the Ever Victorious Army under his command made a brilliant record in its battles against the "long-haired" rebels during the sixties of the last century, proving without a shadow of a doubt that our people could fight with proper training and under good leadership. The famous campaign waged by our army against the rebellious Mahomedans of Eastern Turkestan in 1876-7 was directed entirely by Chinese officers. Some of you have, I think, read the reports of military experts commissioned by Western Powers to witness the maneuvers of our modern army in the past few years, and you will remember that they, one and all, bestowed flattering praise on our officers and men.

Notwithstanding all this, one may agree with such eminent sinologues as Mr. E. P. Parker when they state that our people have none of the characteristics of a warlike race, and that our triumphs over less cultivated people who lived in our neighborhood have been gained more by peaceful means than by force of arms. From the earliest times when our forefathers dwelt as a body of settlers in the fertile regions of what is known in modern geography as Shensi province, till the present day, when the Empire covers an area of a million and a half square miles in China proper alone, our method of acquiring property has been of an assimilative and peaceful nature. Indeed, it may be truly said of our people that the expansion of the Empire has been the logical consequence of a superior civilization. Time and again China has been overwhelmed by foreign invaders from the north, but in every case the conqueror has surrendered to the laws, customs and institutions of the conquered.

How do we account for this absence of warlike spirit in our people? I believe it is due in large part to the teachings of our sages. Whatever might be the shortcomings of our old system of education, it cannot be gainsaid that it insisted upon a thorough study of the ethics of Confucius and Mencius, with the result that their teachings were firmly implanted in the hearts of our people. The essence of the Confucian system was that right and not might is king. Not the strong, the powerful, but the just and the virtuous ruler or people must prevail. The spirit of this teaching is strikingly illustrated in the following account recorded in the works of Mencius. The people of Ts'e attacked Yen and conquered it. The King Hsuan of Ts'e asked Mencius, saying "Some tell me not to take possession of it for myself, and some tell me to take possession of it. For a kingdom of ten thousand chariots attacking another of ten thousand chariots, completing its conquest in fifty days, is an achievement beyond mere human strength. If I do not take possession of it, calamities from Heaven will surely come upon me. What do you say to retaining possession of it?" Mencius replied, "If the

people of Yen will be pleased with your taking possession of it, then do so. Among the ancients there was one who acted on this principle, namely King Wu. If the people of Yen will not be pleased with your retaining it, then do not do so. Among the ancients there was one who acted on this principle, namely, King Wen. When with all your strength of your country of ten thousand chariots, and the people brought baskets of rice and vessels of gruel, to meet your Majesty's host, was there any other reason than the hope to escape out of fire and water (i. e., oppression)? If you make the water more deep and the fire more fierce, they will in like manner make another revolution." It is doubtful if any modern statesman would venture to give such advice to a conqueror.

The doctrine instilled into our rulers is not to him that has, much shall be given, but to him who deserves by his virtues to have, much shall be given. Every question, whether relating to the nation, the family or the individual is viewed from the moral standpoint, and moral issues take the precedence over all others. Moral worth, and not mere strength of arms, entitles one to the respect and loyalty of one's subjects.

It is this view of the order of life that has made our people lovers of peace and tranquillity. As Sir Robert Hart, who has been in China more than half a century, has aptly expressed it, "They (referring to my people) believe in right so firmly that they scorn to think it requires to be defended or enforced by might."

And what is arbitration? Is it not to submit to the judgment of an impartial court the decision of the rights and wrongs of an international disagreement or misunderstanding? Is it not to do away with the old and barbarous way of settling disputes by bloodshed and murder? In short, when we have arbitration, we drag down the god of war from his bloody throne and install in its stead, justice and law. My people therefore welcome the dawning of this new day. We are elated at the triumph of law and reason over brute force. Arbitration is in accord with our best sentiments, and we only regret that our efforts to carry out the provisions of the Hague Peace Conference have not met with that encouragement which they deserve.

Men like martial honors and fame; to enable them to obtain these, there must be opportunities for them to distinguish themselves. It must not be supposed that I attribute to them,—either military or naval men—such hard-heartedness and cruelty as to wish for war. No, on the contrary, I believe such men, generally speaking, are kind-hearted and humane, and would not shed a drop of blood needlessly. But when a general of an army or an admiral of a navy who has won a battle is showered with honors and made a great hero of the country, or when a statesman who has

carried through a successful war for his country is praised and lauded to the sky by his countrymen, is it not too much to expect from human nature that men do not sometimes yearn for an opportunity,—a justifiable occasion—for war, in order to distinguish themselves? To avert war and encourage arbitration, in my humble opinion, the public, and in fact, the whole world should be educated to look upon war as a most disastrous and accursed event, and those engaged in the struggle, though successfully, should not be worshipped as they have been. In a duel the duelist who kills his opponent is not made a hero, although he might have been the aggrieved party. When two men are engaged in fighting, in which one is wounded or killed, the survivor is liable to be taken to court for murder or manslaughter, although he might have done it in self-defense. In any case he would not be rewarded. Why should the participants in a successful but bloody war in which hundreds, nay thousands of human beings have been butchered be honored and worshipped while persons who have conducted successful negotiations in averting war, or who have rendered signal service in preserving the peace of the world, have in many instances not been rewarded. Is not this encouraging people to fight? In all international disputes if they cannot be amicably arranged between the disputing parties, they should be settled by arbitration. In my opinion the statesman who, by a clever stroke of policy, has averted a disastrous war should be more honored than a great general, because the latter by his action has killed many innocent lives while the former has saved them.

Ladies and gentlemen, in saying this I do not depreciate the great service rendered by the generals, the men of the army and the navy. I do not blame them; they are doing their duty for their country, they are ordered to do so, and it is but right that they should do their duties faithfully. But we must look on the other side—the result of their action; we must not reward persons simply because of their service, but we also should take into account the result of such action, and in my humble opinion the statesman who has done great service for his country in averting war should be more honored than a great general. (Applause.)

I consider that those persons, such as Mr. Andrew Carnegie, Mr. Smiley and others who spend their time and money in preaching the principle of settling international disputes by arbitration deserve the warm approbation and praise and hearty support of all peace-loving people. China is strongly in favor of arbitration, and hopes the day will soon arrive when compulsory arbitration will be made the law of nations.

Before closing, I should like to add one word more. I was here last night and heard very good, interesting and sound logic from the people who spoke; but there was one gentleman, for

whom I have great respect, who said, if I am not mistaken, that arbitration should be voluntary and not compulsory. Well, in the abstract I agree with him, because when arbitration is resorted to, it should in a sense be voluntary; but we must look on the other side of the question, and that is this: The world is becoming smaller. All the nations, in one way or the other, have commercial and political relations with one another. They trade with one another and if any calamity should befall one nation, the interests of other nations will be more or less affected. So, you see that if any nation should by force of circumstances or by its action damage or injure the interests of other nations, are the other nations to stand by and do nothing? If two nations should be engaged in war, the commerce and trade interests of other nations would be seriously affected. Therefore, I think it is the bounden duty of other nations, of peaceful nations, to try to induce these two nations not to go to war. What can be done? If we have an international tribunal for the settlement of all international disputes, then arbitration would not be so essential. But before we have an international court of justice to decide all international questions, to which all international questions must be referred for settlement,—I say, before that is done, I think compulsory arbitration is necessary.

As I have been saying just now, if two private individuals were going to fight, the case must be referred to the court; they won't be allowed to fight, and why should two nations be allowed to fight, to injure the interests of other nations? Therefore I say that compulsory arbitration is essential at the present time and until an international arbitration court is established, compulsory arbitration is necessary, and I hope the day will come when it will be made the law of nations. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: We are honored by the presence of an executive of a great State, and I have pleasure in presenting the Governor of South Carolina, Hon. M. F. ANSEL.

AN INTERNATIONAL COURT NEEDED

ADDRESS OF HON. M. F. ANSEL

Mr. President, Mr. Smiley, Ladies and Gentlemen: I desire in the first place to extend my thanks to Mr. Smiley for the very kind invitation extended to me to attend this session of the Conference and to express my interest in and endorsement of the objects of its meeting.

The subject of international arbitration is one that has appealed to me for many years past, and I wish to express a hope that the day is not far distant when differences among the nations of the world shall be settled, not by the sword, but by some court of

arbitration established and maintained by all the powers. Much progress has already been made along the lines indicated by the two meetings of the Hague Conference already held and the one that is to be held about 1915, and I for one believe that much of the good work already done along these lines can be attributed to the work of former meetings of this Conference and the influences flowing from them.

"Peace on earth, good will to men" is a lesson that was taught us by the sacred writers of old, and is the principle on which the nations of the world should stand in the settlement of the many questions that arise.

It has been a pleasure to me to see the progress made, in the past few years, along the line of international arbitration, and the many expressions made by the noted thinkers and speakers of this and other countries in advocacy of the same. The principle of the golden rule is one that nations as well as people should work out and practice in all matters which pertain to themselves and others. Right and not might should prevail and the brotherhood of man should be recognized and practiced.

Many, if not all, of the questions of difference and the causes thereof between nations can be amicably and satisfactorily settled by the recognition by each of the rights of each, and when an amicable settlement cannot be brought about by conference between representatives of each, then resort should be had to a court of arbitration whose action should be final and binding.

The establishment of this court, of course, can only be brought about by agreement among all the powers of the world, but I for one believe that if all the powers will not agree to the establishment of such a court, that an agreement should be entered into between as many as will agree, and others seeing the good accomplished will ultimately come in and join hands with them in working for the good of all. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: As the next speaker I present Rev. A. EUGENE BARTLETT, Pastor of the Church of the Redeemer, Chicago.

POPULARIZING THE INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION MOVEMENT

ADDRESS OF REV. A. EUGENE BARTLETT

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: Standing upon the Mountain of Transfiguration and looking down upon the nations of the world as they struggle for supremacy, we have the vision of peace. Men dreamed yesterday of the commonwealth, and as a result to-day we have republics. To-day the prophets dream of peace and as a result to-morrow we shall have the federation of

the world. To-day, as yesterday, the dreamers are not permitted to remain continually upon the Mountain, but are bidden to go back into the valley and to toil for the realization of the vision they have seen upon the height. If we take this word peace from the height and bring it into the valley, it becomes arbitration, and without losing the inspiration of our dream, we become concerned with present-day difficulties and the persuading of men and women to adopt this new and better way of settling their disputes.

We have a right to rejoice, as we have been doing, over the great victories which have been won in these last few years in the interests of international arbitration and permanent and world-wide peace; but the final victory is yet far distant. Reforms are continually halted until the rank and file of the people appreciate their significance. Great men alone cannot determine the ultimate result, but the problem will of necessity be brought back for the decision of the people. We are fortunate in having enrolled in this movement many of the world leaders. This is an incalculable help to the cause; but it should not be forgotten that some of the world-leaders who have spoken upon various platforms on peace, are not yet entirely converted to the cause. If you read over upon publication the addresses which were given at the recent National Peace Congress in Chicago. you will find that with very little changes, certain of those addresses could have been given in the presence of a group of naval military leaders and they would have evoked applause. If the leaders themselves in the movements of the nations are not thoroughly converted, most assuredly the common people are not yet entirely convinced of the necessity and the advisability of adopting the principles of arbitration.

The Hon Richard Bartholdt, our doughty champion in Congress, informs me that whereas last year sixty of his colleagues voted right, this year eighty have lined up on the right side. He will have less difficulty in persuading the Congressmen to vote right when the people understand the issue. When the people understand the advantages of this new and better way of settling difficulties among the nations, they will not only in order to lift their own burdens, but in the interests of brotherhood itself, demand of their representatives in Congress that they shall vote and work in the interests of arbitration. To-day many of the Congressmen know that they will be better pleasing to many of their constituents if they vote in favor of a larger navy. Centuries of education in slaughter cannot be overcome suddenly. The fierce competitive struggles of the ages cannot be completely stopped as the result of present propaganda. With all our rejoicing, we have to remember that despite the gains, we have to-day the most colossal military system that has ever existed. The call is for a continuous, systematic, education of the people in the principles of arbitration

which have been so eloquently expounded by the great men of our time. We need the spasmodic effort of conventions and congresses. which serve in the formulation and development of public opinion, but we need as well the slow, systematic teaching of the people through the medium of field work.

The resolutions of the business men of this country and Canada passed at this Conference a year ago, deserve to be kept before us. They said, "The men representing the business organizations in various parts of the country recognize the fact that international arbitration as a substitute for war between nations is a practical proposition; that practical education should be encouraged as the best means to hasten the day of a world's court of justice." The words that Hon. Elihu Root, our great and honored peace advocate, put into a letter to the Pennsylvania Arbitration and Peace Conference, should be kept constantly in our thought. He wrote, "The true work of promoting peace is not so much a matter of diplomacy as it is a matter of education. The great obstacle to the peaceful settlement of most international disputes, is to be found in popular intolerance of concession." I shall now confine myself to certain definite, and I think practical suggestions for reaching the people with the knowledge of the international arbitration movement.

In this campaign of education additional literature is needed. The present literature that we have is excellent, but there are certain neglected fields. We need books and pamphlets that will show the connection between industrial harmony and international peace. The problems of adjustment within the nation and among the nations are related questions. Every advance toward industrial peace within the nation is a step toward the federation of the world. Within and without the nation the development of the newer ideals of peace must go forward. A volume upon this subject, if fairly written, will bring into the peace movement new friends and strong ones from the ranks of labor.

We need also more short popular tracts, free from technical terms and illustrated by drawings and diagrams which will quickly appeal to the eye and show to even the casual reader the waste and absurdity of war. Comparatively few of the working men of America yet know that we are spending about sixty-six cents out of every dollar of our national revenue for past and prospective wars. When they do know this, and understand the burden that it places upon their shoulders, they will have an emphatic vote to register at the polls which will make itself felt in the future legislation of Congress.

The postal card has become all over the world a means for the education of the people, and it is not beneath this movement to adopt the postal card as a means of spreading its great gospel. Short, sharp sentences, that state truths of war and peace, should

be placed upon them, and they should be furnished at as low a figure as possible and placed where they may be of ready access for the people. Illustrated postals may also be used with the portraits of some of the great leaders of the movement in the past and a sentence or two concerning their life and service to the cause. The House in the Woods at The Hague where the first conference was held and the new Palace of Peace to be erected by Andrew Carnegie, should be given publicity in this way. We need also Peace calendars and Peace year-books.

Andrew Fletcher's suggestion should not be lost sight of. He told us that he cared not who made the laws of a people, if he could make their songs. We have already some excellent peace hymns. Others should be obtained and a Peace Hymnal published. Effort should also be made to introduce the Peace songs into the old hymnals as well as into our secular song-books.

The work among the colleges has been well begun. The idea of contests in writing and speaking should now be carried into the secondary schools.

In order to reach and interest popular audiences. illustrated lectures should be given by regular lecturers, and slides should be loaned, with manuscripts, for the use of clubs, societies, and institutions. We are glad that the coming year the general federation of Women's Clubs is to add the subject of Peace to its program. Additional effort is required to see that this suggestion from the General Federation is carried out in individual clubs all over the country. The problem of arbitration and peace should be introduced into the programs of clubs and societies. The number of Men's Clubs in connection with churches is increasing rapidly and they should somehow be reached.

Every encouragement should be given to the movement already inaugurated for the increasing of international hospitality. There should not only be the exchange of pulpits on the part of great denominational leaders, but as well the exchange of pulpits by representatives of the men who have not yet won a national reputation. Fraternal visits should be arranged by colleges and also secondary schools. In this way, we shall weave the threads of love around the boys and girls so that grown to manhood and womanhood they will find the bonds so strong they cannot break them.

We should try in this new year to reach new groups of workers through special literature and addresses. Through the development of social service, the number of charity workers is increasing rapidly in this country. We should reach them and make it plain to them that a large share of the misery they seek to overcome has been produced as a result of war. Our sympathy should be expressed with the socialists in so far as their peace plans are concerned. Scattered as they are over the world, they represent a positive force in favor of international peace.

The International School of Peace that has been proposed by Mr. Edwin Ginn is a great plan, because it aims at systematizing the work of educating the people. When it has been definitely started, we may expect many offers of financial help. When it has been actually launched, it certainly will not be left to the munificence of one man to provide it with funds.

The plain people of this country need to be educated in giving to this cause, for this great campaign of instruction cannot be carried forward without adequate resources and we know because it has been demonstrated so many times that our interest increases even as we give to any righteous cause. The one hundred thousand churches of America are ready, if asked with tact and enthusiasm, to give annually a hundred thousand dollars to this cause. A hundred thousand laboring men are ready to give, even at a sacrifice, fifty thousand dollars to this same movement. The American people are to have most to do with the bringing about of the federation of the world and so their education must be most thorough, and it behooves us to undertake it at once in still more systematic fashion.

Prof. Brumbaugh, of the University of Pennsylvania, has unearthed many a forgotten incident of early American history in his state. This one will be especially appreciated by lovers of peace. Just after the French and Indian war, the French again incited their Indian allies, and they came together on a plateau north of Pittsburg, at what is now the town of Beaver. Day after day the Indians were drilled by the French officers, and news of the gathering of this great army spread terror throughout that region of Pennsylvania. After some weeks word came to the troubled settlers of the region that the Indians had disbanded and the French officers gone back to Fort St. Clair, at Detroit. The pioneers called it an act of God, and it is only recently that through the work of investigation carried on by this professor the facts in the case have become known. In 1745 a Moravian minister went among those Indians and taught them, exemplifying by his acts the Gospel of Jesus that he taught. Then, stricken with a dreadful disease, he went back to the home of his daughter to die. When news came of the gathering of the Indians, refusing all the entreaties of his loved ones, he was placed upon his horse and led over the mountains until he came to the great encampment. There day after day he labored with the Indians telling them of the will of the Great Spirit, and that it was not His desire that they should slay their white brothers, but that they must turn their arrows against the wolves and the buffaloes and the deer; and so lovingly and insistently did he repeat the forgotten commandment, "Thou shalt not kill," that at last the Indians listened and went away to their homes, and he went back to Bethlehem to die. You can do more than one sick

Moravian minister for the cause of peace. I bid you go back, across the rivers, over the hills, and beyond the plains, to convert the common people of America, to the need of adopting this new and better way, and of making an actual fact this dream of the brotherhood of man and the federation of the world. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I now present to the Conference a gentleman who is always at the service of the cause of arbitration and peace, Rev. FREDERICK LYNCH, Pastor of the Pilgrim Congregational Church, New York City.

THE CHURCH AND INTERNATIONALISM

ADDRESS OF REV. FREDERICK LYNCH

Why is it that after 2,000 years of Christianity the world at large still loves killing so much? Perhaps one is not far from the truth when he says, It is because the Christian Church has never really been much ahead of the world in this regard. Some years ago a great English scientist remarked that "modern Christianity was a half-civilized paganism." It was an overstatement and aroused much indignation at the time. But, nevertheless, it is still partly true. We have brought over into our Christianity a lot of pagan ethics, and often the pagan overshadows the Christian. The pagan ideal is force; the Christian ideal is love. It was the mind of Jesus that the new ideal of love should utterly displace the old ideal of force. In some of the individual relationships of life it has. The work of the Church here has been magnificent. In the great social relationships the ethics of the Church are still largely the pagan ideals of force. We are considering what the Church can do to educate the world in the sentiment of brotherhood. It can do nothing until it first educates itself into the ethics of its Master. The Church still tolerates man-killing and trusts in brute force to win moral victories almost as much as the world. It is not so open about it as the world. The world, through its prophets, like Nietzsche, openly declares itself as followers of the pagan ideal and ridicules the Christian principle of love. The Church still calls itself Christian, and yet turns its back on the whole Christ teaching at this point and continues the pagan practice of considering men of other nations foreigners, and of destruction, killing and relying on brute power.

Last summer I was visiting some beautiful English cathedrals. In every cathedral there are ten monuments to men who have killed somebody to one who has saved human life or contributed to its joy and welfare. These churches are all full of pagan symbols—swords and guns—instruments of hate and not of love;

of revenge and not of forgiveness; of destruction and not of construction. I saw a man carving a long list of names in one of the cathedrals. They were the names of forty men who had gone to South Africa to kill their brothers. We are just as bad in the United States. All the churches went wild at the return of a great admiral from the Philippines who had killed several hundred miserable Spaniards who had not the slightest idea what it was all about. Whereas, whoever heard of anybody welcoming Mrs. Gulick home after thirty years of Christian sacrifice in Spain in saving life. England could not collect five pounds to welcome Robert Hume, who saved thousands of lives in India during the famine. But if war breakes out in India and a British general can only kill a few thousand Hindoos, London will go mad and the English churches will sing Te Deums for a week.

I am not speaking of the world now, but of the Church. It is the Church in Russia that backed the Russian-Japanese War and blessed the bands of murderers going forth to Manchuria. There never was such a travesty of Christianity in history as the present savage attitude of England and Germany to each other; daily papers doing their utmost to foment strife, and printing lowest, meanest, foulest innuendos they can invent; the leaders of each nation nourishing basest suspicions of the other nation among the people; England forced to neglect her home problems, and let her London thousands starve, while she rushes toward bankruptcy in this mad piling up of instruments of international mass-murder. Mr. Haldane said it was a sight to make angels weep. A great and intelligent Englishman, a very prominent minister of the English Church, remarked the other day that there was no doubt but that Germany was deliberately planning to invade England. All this is terrible, but here is the sad thing, that from every church in England and Germany a holy shout has not gone up, *This thing must stop.* There has been no evidence that there is any Christianity left in either nation, except as here and there a solitary brave minister has lifted up his voice. Yet, if the state churches of Germany and England had enough Christianity in them to say, "This is all utterly foreign to our religion. Let us insist that the two governments get together at once in friendly conference and sign a treaty," the governments would do it. But from my experience in England it is the Church people who are maddest. What can a church do for the world when she deserts Him who knew no law except the forgiveness of enemies, the love of all men as brothers and who told Peter in the garden to put up his sword.

It is the shame of the age that every church in England, Germany and America is not protesting against these great, pagan, overwhelming armaments. They are members of the

Church and call themselves Christians, who in my own country are crying for vast navies and doubling the army and making our nation a great, aggressive military power, "capable of striking first," to use our former President's words. Meantime, the labor unions and Socialists are speaking. They may outrun the Church. Why, even the daily papers are more prophetical than eight-tenths of churches—yea, than of arbitration conferences. "The Globe," one of the largest dailies of New York, has seen the whole thing, when in a recent editorial on "Peace on a War Footing," it claims that such peace as England and Germany are now getting is not much better than war: "Are we saying 'peace, peace,' when there is no peace? Is a peace congress that busies itself with international arbitration, Hague tribunals, and the like instead of attacking first the warlike budgets of those days of peace not in danger of starting before it has made a beginning? For the place to begin is of course, at the beginning—with the actualities which lie at hand."

Now it is of no use whatever expecting much help from the Church in the cause of the brotherhood of man or nations till it learns the mind of Christ in its ethics, and with clear, uncompromising Christian certitude says, "Man-killing has no part or place in Christianity and must stop." The whole teaching of Jesus is so plain on this point that every child knows it, and it is not till we go to juggling with His words and quibbling over plain meanings and twisting sentences that are straight, that we by any means can get away from them. The Sermon on the Mount is the simplest, plainest sermon ever preached, and when the Church believes and practices half of it even, she will have no more part in wars. It seems to even forbid self-defense from the enemy. But we will not press this point, we will grant the right of protecting one's own life or the nation's life—but even then wars would stop, for not one war in twenty originates in mere self-defense. The fact still remains that the whole Christian teaching condemns the killing of one's brother. It forbids the exercise of hatred and revenge, the destruction of sacred things, the use of force in extending religion. Its Gospel is love, and forgiveness of the enemy, the recognition of the Christ life and Christ light in every man, the persuasion of reason and mercy. When the Christian Church once gets Jesus' conception of the worth and sacredness of a human soul it can no more take part in wars than it can in slave-holding or prostitution; it will lift its hands in horror at this whole business of man-killing and the vast preparations now going on all over the world for destroying some other children of God.

Again, before the Church can lead in the brotherhood of nations it must learn that there can be no such thing as a double standard of ethics in the kingdom of God—an ethic for individuals and an-

other for groups. The most hopeful sign for the kingdom is that the Church is beginning to learn this and preach it. It has already preached it with considerable force, and it has led to insurance investigations and to the State regulation of corporations and to a general awakening of the political conscience. Governor Folk calls it "the Era of Civic Conscience." This is good. But as yet large parts of the Christian body lag behind in this emphasis of one law for individuals and groups. Thank God we have gone so far that the Church can no longer hold individuals to her unless at the same time she holds society. She will be *forced,* if she does not *lead* in it, to preach a universal morality What is right for one man is right for the State. What is wrong for one man to do is wrong for the State to do, and for the corporation. Stealing is just as much stealing by a company as by a man. What is wrong for a man to do is wrong for a nation. If it is wrong for me to seek revenge, it is wrong for my country to seek revenge or shout, "Remember the Maine!" If it is wrong for me to settle my difficulties on the street with my fists, it is wrong for the nation to settle its difficulties on the seas with gunboats; and the opposite is true, if it is right for nations to fight, it is right for individuals. If a Christian man insists on taking his case to the bar of reason and using all mercy compatible with justice, the Christian nation will insist as earnestly on thus arbitrating its disputes. No man is called upon to forgive any more than is a nation. If the Church does not expect nations to follow the Sermon on the Mount, it can never expect individuals to follow it. If it is wrong for me to speak evil against John Smith, it is wrong for my country to speak evil against Japan. The law for my country's attitude to Japan is just the law that regulates my attitude toward my brother in New York. If it is wrong for you to kill your friend on Broadway, it is just as wrong for your nation to destroy a nation anywhere in this beautiful world. The fundamental error of the sermon preached before the International Peace Congress in London last year was just here. It set up two standards of morality, one for the individual, one for the nation. It said to the individual, Thou must not kill to effect thy purposes —but that the nation might kill to effect its purposes. It apologized for things nations do, where it would not apologize for individuals, but condemn. The whole Church is full of this specious and spurious morality. It will have little influence on the great ethical and social movements in our day till it comes out from under its baleful shadow. The thing I fear is that other organizations are going to take the moral leadership out of the hands of the Church, while it lingers talking baby-talk in an age that is seeing great visions. Let it speak now with tremendous voice the new word, "There is only one standard of right for men and nations."

Finally, the Church must learn the new neighborhood. It is the old neighborhood—for it is as old as the good Samaritan. But the Church has too often forgotten it. But no one can read the Gospels without seeing that the mind of Jesus' neighborhood has nothing to do with national boundaries, temperamental difference or race distinctions. There are no boundaries in the Gospels. All men, in the Christian fellowship, were brothers. Whoever needed to be loved was a brother. The only patriotism the New Testament knows is in the kingdom of God. A Jewish disciple held no different relation to a Jew than to a Greek. The intensest Jew of all soon learned this hard lesson and said, "God hath made of one blood all nations of men." The early Church practiced this fundamental Christian doctrine. The Church soon lost it. She is slowly coming back to it. But she will never gain her true moral supremacy until she speaks as boldly as her Master taught on this great principle. Carlyle and Tolstoy had to leave the Church to teach it. But wars and all this pagan preparation for war will soon cease when the Church simply utters unequivocally her Master's words. She must say at least as much as the workingmen of Germany and France said at their congress in Stuttgart, when they declared their common cause higher than national distinctions and pledged themselves to refuse to bear arms one against the other except to defend their homes. She must tell all her children that the kingdom of God knows no race; that in the kingdom of God a German is as much neighbor to an Englishman as his next door friend; that a Japanese is as much neighbor to an American as the member of his own Church; that one has no more moral right to shoot a Christian in South Africa than one has to shoot one in London, and ought not to have any more desire to; that we Americans must learn a higher patriotism than we have had, a Christian patriotism, that considers all the world its country; and thinks of its own country simply as a man thinks of his home, a beautiful place, deeply beloved of him, where he may make himself rich and strong to serve all men; that all men are his brothers—and brotherhood knows men only as children of God. Will the Church ever say these things? I think she is beginning to say them. If she does not soon, others will, for this new world-consciousness, this new sense of the community of effort, of the unity of the race, of common aspiration and common cause and burden, is rising very rapidly in the great bosom of humanity. I think the Church is going to say it. I hear voices here and there. But the day the Christian Church becomes Christian wars are done. (Applause.)

The Chairman: It gives me peculiar pleasure to present the next speaker. A member of the mother of parliaments, he has

been and is a consistent, unselfish and devoted worker in promoting good feeling throughout the world. It is largely owing to his initiative that the great international visit of clergymen took place more than a year ago between England and Germany and that a similar visit is to occur within a few months. Whatever may be said of other individuals and movements, of public opinion and of newspapers, this particular friend of mankind is always on the right side. I may say also that he stood at Lord Weardale's side on the occasion of the little incident which I ventured to describe yesterday, in the gardens of the German Chancellor. I now present Mr. J. Allen Baker, of London, member of the British House of Commons. (Applause.)

THE TRUE FEELING OF THE ENGLISH AND THE GERMAN PEOPLE

ADDRESS OF J. ALLEN BAKER, M. P.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: I have just arrived at this notable and historic place and for the first time have had the delightful pleasure of entering into this Garden of Eden! I do not know whether I may have arrived at the psychological moment to hear some home truths about the clergy of our own little Island, (laughter) and of Germany, but I was delighted to hear the outspoken words of the gentleman who has preceded me on the duty of the Christian church, because if the Christian church is not prepared to take the lead in this great question of international peace, I am afraid we will have to look to other organizations outside the Christian church,—for example, to the socialist movement, which is attended with many dangers. It would be somewhat strange if they led in this movement, and the Christian church lagged behind.

I am extremely sorry not to have been able to enter more into the spirit of this great conference and to have heard the speeches of yesterday, and also a speech which I understand was delivered this morning by a fellow-countryman of my own, Mr. Justice Maclaren of Ontario. I happen to be a Canadian, and although resident for over thirty years in the old country and a member of the British House of Commons, I am proud of my nationality of that country north of the border. (Applause.) Because I believe that Canada and the United States together are showing one of the greatest examples of how Christian nations should dwell together in amity and unity and one that might well be copied by other countries of the world. That treaty of 1817, when President Madison was in charge of the affairs of this country, is a great example of what getting rid of armaments on international borders will do for the countries concerned. Before 1812, our Canadian histories told us, and we are all familiar

with it, no doubt, there were frequent outbreaks and difficulties but with the abolition of the means by which conflict usually comes, peace and good-will, and amity reigns. And this example still stands, after nearly a century of trial.

I am also extremely sorry not to have heard that notable address which I hope will be repeated in the press of the United Kingdom, delivered yesterday by your President. I had the opportunity of glancing over and noting a few of his remarks in regard to the relationship between Germany and the United Kingdom and very largely I endorse all he has said in that address. (Applause.) I think we are probably the chief of sinners in regard to having started this mad race of building dreadnoughts. It is a political sin that lies at the door of the British House of Commons that they sanctioned the commencement of the race of building those great engines of destruction.

But I believe that in this country you are getting reports about the relationship of these two countries that do not fully reflect the true condition of affairs between the two peoples. We have a press that is what we term in England the "yellow" press, very powerfully backed by great interests; they are working for naval and military ends and with a political aim and object in view. The true expression as I believe it to be, between the masses of the people in Germany and England, is one of friendship and one of desire to live in friendship and amity, one country with the other! (Applause.) Of course, there is a military and naval clique in both countries, whose interests lie along the line of having these great armies and navies and increasing the naval armaments. They are always pushing their view, and it is very largely through those gentlemen and through the press that have coöperated with them, that this naval scare and the exhibition of what you have heard reported has emanated; on them very largely the responsibility lies.

Now I have just received from England, I think it was yesterday or the day before, the report of a speech of a good friend of mine and one in whom I have the utmost confidence as to his wisdom and judgment as a statesman. I refer to Rt. Hon. John Burns, President of the Local Government Board, the great labor leader. (Applause.) He is one of the most trusted and wisest of His Majesty's Ministers. Mr. John Burns was welcoming to England the representatives of the labor organizations of Germany. He was speaking at a banquet at which Lord Weardale, referred to by your Chairman, was presiding. Mr. Burns used these words, and I refer to these because they come from one in such a responsible position—a member of the British Cabinet.

"Your visit," continued the right honorable member, "is timely. It coincides with the collapse of an attempt to foment mischief between the two great branches of the same race. I have seen a few scares in

this country come and go, but I never saw one more hollow, and less decent than the last. It has hardly lasted the traditional nine days. It was confined to a small section of people, and I may say with few exceptions to the least reputable of our journals, to the most unreliable of our precocious politicians, and to a few Socialists who ought to have known better." * * * Proceeding, he said that during the last forty years he could remember there had always been a few people for doubtful reasons stimulating a war. They need not be alarmed. There were many shouts and much sound in these days of syndicated newspapers,

I wish you would take note of those words,

but the voices were few, and the English people, having heard "wolf" cried so often, were now learning to detect the artificial from the real, the interested from the national voices. He thought that as certain scares in the Press declined and deteriorated as they were doing, that the fear of war was receding. His view was that they would never see a great international war in which France, Germany, Russia, or England would be involved. Such a terrible conflict affecting the economic, political, and commercial destinies of the people would make them hesitate. The people were becoming much saner than their Press, their leaders and patriots. They in this country who were now fomenting war were the people who cried loudest for a large Navy for Britain, and denied the same advantage to other people. Arrogance in a nation was the cause of aggression in others, and if our pugnacious patriots who sublet their soldiering and sub-contract their sacrifice and dying would cease to fill the air with their noisy threats, then the world would gain by that practice. Those gentlemen corresponded to the type of people that Dr. Johnson must have had in his mind when he said patriotism was too often the last refuge of scoundrels.

On the ground of race, religion, ideals, and aims, Europe and the world would be the poorer if Germany and Britain were involved in a war. Germany was England's best customer, and he was not a wise shopkeeper who advocated the blacking of the eyes of his best customer as a means of advertising his business. England sent Germany over £41,000,000 of goods and Germany sent England £57,000,000 a year, £12,000,000 of which was in food, whilst the British Empire sent to Germany goods to the value of £90,000,000,

multiplied, of course, by five, and you have your familiar dollars.

England and Germany, he continued, were near enough to be neighbors, and should be decent enough to be friends. He asked the delegates to take back to Germany a message of amity, peace, good-will, and good wishes from the bulk of the English people, and assure their compatriots that the noble appeal on behalf of peace made by the German people was heartily and sincerely reciprocated by the English people.

That, Ladies and Gentlemen, I believe fully illustrates, fully demonstrates the feeling that exists at this present moment between the masses of the people in the two countries.

Dr. Butler, in kindly introducing me to you this morning referred to an incident that happened during the "Interparliamentary Congress" in the City of Berlin. There were sixty-seven members of the British House of Commons (I had the honor to be one of them) who, with four or five hundred other members of Parliament from other countries of Europe, were being enter-

tained in the Palace Gardens of Prince von Buelow. Our little group of British Parliamentarians gathered round Prince von Buelow, and Lord Weardale assured His Highness that he could depend upon the fact that in the United Kingdom ninety-nine people out of every hundred were in favor of peace, amity, and friendship between the two great peoples. And later on I had a very similar expression communicated to me by His Excellency, Dr. Dryander, the Court preacher of His Majesty, Emperor William. He said that of all the people in a position to think, those who represent the German nation, he did not believe there were two out of a hundred who had any enmity whatever against Great Britain and the others would look upon any conflict with that country as a great calamity, if not a crime. That was the expression given from the German side, and I believe to a very large extent those facts represent the true state of the case.

Now I take a good deal of what the reverend gentleman who read the previous paper says in regard to the condition of some of our churches and what appears in those churches, to be actually the case; that we glorify war, while the more heroic deeds of those who try to save life and who expend their wealth and their lives in the betterment of mankind often go unrewarded. But I do believe that in the international visit that has taken place between the two countries of Great Britain and Germany, the church is taking a step forward and is giving expression to what they believe to be their duty at the present moment. That visit of the German pastors to England in May and June of last year has become an historic event. Over one hundred and thirty, representing all sections of the Christian church, Lutheran, Roman Catholic and Non-Conformists, came to England expressly to promote peace and good-will between the two peoples, and for the first time in their history they united in any movement of any kind, whatever. It was also the first time in the world's history when the representatives of the Christian churches of one country united with their confreres in another country to promote international peace. They were welcomed by representatives of every section of the Christian church, in London, in Edinburgh, in Cambridge, in Glasgow, and other places, and were received by the King at Buckingham Palace. The cordiality with which they were received, the expressions of good-will, and the resolutions which were unanimously agreed to, I think gave strong proof as far as the Christian churches of the two countries were concerned, that they felt the time had come for uniting in peace and good-will between our two peoples, and that we had a great duty to perform in promoting peace and good-will among other peoples as well.

My being here to-day I think is more or less an accident of ill health. I was advised that I must take a short visit to this

side of the water. I am afraid I cannot appeal to you from my looks as being much of an invalid at the present moment, but I have improved greatly since I came over and am hastening back next week to have the privilege of paying the return visit to Germany. Our party will comprise the leading representatives of every section of our churches in England, numerous Bishops, Deans, archdeacons, canons and others representing the State church, leading Non-Conformists, leading Catholics and many laymen; among the laymen being a dozen members of Parliament, and I think a few members of the House of Lords as well. We will go for two weeks and be the guests of the German people. (Applause.) They have arranged to send for us to Dover, a steam pleasure yacht of 4,000 tons, sometimes used by His Majesty, I believe; they will take us to Hamburg where we will be entertained by the municipality, four or five days in Berlin and one day at Pottsdam, where His Majesty the German Emperor will be at that time. What may happen then I do not know! (Laughter.) Possibly we may have the opportunity of receiving an Imperial welcome and expressing our views in regard to peace and good relations. This is the spontaneous expression of the representatives of every section of the German church and also has the approval of those highest in authority, from the Kaiser and Prince von Buelow to every member, I believe, of the Reichstag and Bundesrath. I think that shows at all events we are hardly in the position, as some would like to make out, of commencing a war with our cousins, the Germans, across the North Sea.

Now ladies and gentlemen, I do not wish to detain you, I am afraid the hour is late and that you want to disperse, but one thing I have on my heart and one thing that I feel is incumbent upon me to perform. I believe that the peace of the world is practically dependent upon three great peoples—the United States, Germany and Great Britain. And when I speak of Germany and Great Britain I remember, of course, that Austria acts with and is extremely friendly to Germany, and France and England have that splendid *entente cordiale* that makes them very friendly with each other. But between these great countries I believe the peace of the world depends. I have mentioned them in the order of their population. The United States has the greatest population, Germany next and Great Britain last. But if we take the British Empire I think perhaps it might come first, and perhaps you might just permit me to put Great Britain first just for the moment (applause) with the United States next and Germany next. You see I want for the moment that the United States be in the middle. But the point I want to make is this—I believe it absolutely lies in the power of the United States at this moment to say to Germany on the one

hand and Great Britain on the other, " We ask you to grasp our hand and walk along together in this great cause of international peace." (Applause.) We look to you to lead, and if your President at Washington, His Excellency, the President of the United States would say to His Majesty of Germany and His Majesty of England, " Take my hand and let me lead you into that brotherhood and into that condition that you ought to be in as Christian nations," I think they would gladly accept that proffered hand and would be delighted to let the United States take the lead and their President be the great leader in this movement. (Applause.) I believe there was nothing in the whole career of your late President that will be remembered with greater satisfaction, or further commend his name to posterity, than that act in which he took the initiative during the bloody struggle between Russia and Japan, which had gone on far too long, and said to those two nations, " Now it is time for you—after you have had all this loss and struggle,—it is time for you to come and arbitrate on this question of the settlement of your difficulties," and we know what happy results followed. They accepted the invitation. I hope that President Taft before the struggle begins between Germany and England—and I am not one of those who believe in that struggle—but I hope he may be encouraged by this Conference to take the lead and say to them, " Gentlemen, you are having a war of armaments; neither of you is getting any the stronger; so many Dreadnoughts built here and so many there—why not end this mad race that is carrying on your peoples to bankruptcy and ruin and settle this matter and come to an amicable understanding!" (Applause.) I hope your President may be induced by his people to take that lead.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, it has been a very great delight to me to have had the opportunity, even in this informal way of taking any part in this Conference. I shall go back inspired from what I have read of the speeches of yesterday and from what will follow to work in that cause of peace, which surely ought to be the highest and the noblest, either for statesmen or professing Christians of any nation. (Applause.)

Mr. Smiley: I want just to say that I hope our good friend from England will come next year, and not be compelled to come on account of ill health, but I would like him to have a little ill health to bring him, if nothing else will!

The Chairman: The regular program of the morning being completed there is now opportunity for discussion under the five minute rule.

THE ABSURDITY OF WAR

REMARKS OF MR. A. B. FARQUHAR OF YORK, PA.

In opening the recent Peace Congress in Chicago, the hope was expressed by one enthusiastic speaker that this meeting might prove, in the history of the Peace Movement, "epoch-making." That assemblage, however, was something better than a sensation,—it was a quiet, firm step forward. It may not have marked an epoch, but it undoubtedly marked an advance. The weighty encouragement given it by Governor Deneen, Secretary Ballinger, Count von Bernstorff, His Excellency, Wu Ting-Fang, and the rest, was a distinct indication and an emphatic acknowledgment that the movement for International Peace had by that time passed from the region of dreams to that of soberest statesmanship. Those practical men of affairs, thoroughly trained in the politics of yesterday, could readily see that the call for international arbitral courts and disarmament was as strictly practical as anything in the schemes and statecraft they had so carefully learned.

To have won such a position, in the time since our movement first entered the National field, is no slight achievement; but we must not be content with it. We cannot rest with the acknowledgment that the policy we advocate is merely something suitable for serious consideration. Our policy must tolerate no rival; it must be accepted as alone wise, alone Christian, alone worthy of following by enlightened States. It must be acknowledged as distinctively and eminently the rational way.

War has been extolled as practical, as having an unrivaled power of settling questions. But in sober truth, what questions has war ever settled? The relative destructiveness of various contrivances for butchery, doubtless—the relative effectiveness of various disciplines. But the questions for which a war was avowedly fought have always to be decided after the fighting is finished—both sides crippled and one of them, at least, hopelessly exhausted,—when comes an arbitration or conference that might better, in every way, have preceded than followed the bloodshed. That arbitration or conference it is, and that only, that settles; and does not the rationality that ought to distinguish thinking beings demand that it be applied at the right time, and not many frightful months or years too late? Arbitration really settles. Of the more than a hundred cases decided by this method within the last century, in not one has an appeal to the god of battles followed, or even been threatened.

The case for reduction of armaments rests on the same principles, and is equally clear. If the only palpable result of the monstrous accumulation of war arrays, were the huge cost imposed, it would be none the less a serious evil; for the weight of

all such burdens must finally fall upon the shoulders of Labor, those least able to bear it. But it does more, and worse. Such expense might be pardonable if it helped to establish concord and good feeling; but when every dollar of it goes to excite enmity and distrust, what shall we say? The apology for it, everybody knows, is that it is needed to defend us against possible attacks, that we are driven to increase our war preparations, to maintain the "balance." This preservation of a "balance" is a very plausible phrase, or people would not use it,—but why do they not remember that balances are equally balanced when ounce is weighed against ounce, as ton against ton? An international agreement reducing armaments, subscribed to by all the great powers and confirmed by such provisions for inspection as would insure its faithful observance, would reduce expenses and advance the welfare of the toiling millions; and would remove distrusts and advance worldwide good-feeling in the same act. Which side is more reasonable? (Applause.)

NEW FORMS OF PROPAGANDA NEEDED

REMARKS OF MRS. EDWIN D. MEAD OF BOSTON

In 1913 is coming the decision as to the subjects which will be presented in 1915 at the Third Hague Conference. Upon that decision will probably depend the expenditure or non-expenditure not only of hundreds of millions, but, in the course of the next seven or eight years, of billions of dollars of the hard-earned taxes of the world. We are coming to learn that the consideration of money is now even more important than that concerning the immediate loss of life in war. All the deaths which all the outside world has inflicted upon our republic is not over twelve thousand, probably less; that is only about one-fifth more than the number which are being murdered each year in this country, and less than one-twelfth of the number being slain annually by preventable tuberculosis. In the Philippine War we lost, all told, less than five thousand men; but we spent six hundred millions of dollars. This colossal sum, if put into saving lives lost by tuberculosis, in the last ten years could have prevented one million deaths.

We need to carry on a great campaign of education between now and 1913, in which the great body of hitherto silent women throughout the country should do valiant work. They have great responsibility in creating a right public opinion. We have got the Federation of Women's Clubs, numbering eight hundred thousand members, to promise that at their biennial meeting next year they will consider international peace. At a meeting in Chicago of the largest women's club in this country, composed of a thousand brainy women, there was passed this month a reso-

lution to have a standing committee on peace, which will arrange one large meeting and will prepare for regular study of this question by an interested group. I have just been talking with our friend, Dr. Francis Clark, who is going out to St. Paul to his great body of Christian Endeavorers, which has already done splendid service for our cause; and he has promised to present there this pressing need in order that this army of young people, at least some groups of them, shall take up a systematic study of substitutes for war.

In addition to the many specific methods of reaching the public which Mr. Bartlett suggested, I would name one other. I think it is time for us to begin using the street cars. It costs but two cents a day to put up a placard, perhaps two feet long, on the advertising space. A good many sententious sentences might be put upon each such placard. If I had five thousand dollars to spare for propaganda, I should buy up a good deal of space in the street cars in Washington which lead up to the Capitol, and I should put on the placards such sentences as this, "In one hundred and twenty years only twelve thousand Americans have been killed by foreign bullets; our enemies are all within our country—not in Europe nor in Asia; yet we are spending six hundred per cent. more for our navy than we were spending sixteen years ago!" Pungent truths, statistics in graphic form, read every day for four months of the year, might perhaps make some impression upon the Congressmen who clamor for four battleships. At all events, they would impress newspapers and constituents.

A SOLDIER'S VIEW

REMARKS OF GENERAL HORATIO C. KING OF BROOKLYN

I have a very high regard for Mrs. Mead because of her consistency and her persistency—and for one other reason,—that she always inspires me to say something.

I have heard some things spoken since I have been here that lead me to say this. There are a few old soldiers and sailors here and if we are to accept at their face value some of the extravagant statements made about war and about soldiers, we ought to apologize for our presence and take the first train for home! But I do not believe that these sentiments are generally accepted. Some things are said intemperately, I think, on occasions of this kind, on both sides perhaps, which inspire the newspapers to give a very false impression of these most interesting and valuable conventions.

Now no soldier is ever an advocate of war—certainly not those soldiers who have been through it, for war is even more than General Sherman has so graphically described it to be. Indeed

I have even lost much of my old enjoyment of military show. There is here no more earnest advocate for arbitration and universal peace, than I, but, I differ with some of my friends as to the best methods of preserving peace. I do not believe that this country has reached the stage yet when we can say to all the world, "We defy you to interfere with our peace." We still need a large navy; we need a much larger army. There are fewer soldiers now in the United States in proportion to the population that there were when George Washington was President.

The world has not yet reached the millennium. It is still a great way off. I think therefore that we are not prepared to lie down, as some speakers would have us, and take what comes, rather than be able to repel unjust aggression by force. There are no angels yet on earth. At least, I run against none in my business. I am a lawyer and I find there is a good deal of the Old Adam left in human nature.

CANADIAN INTEREST IN THE PEACE MOVEMENT

REMARKS OF MR. JOHN MURRAY CLARK OF TORONTO

I would not trouble you but for the fact I have a message from Chief Justice Sir William Mulock which he desired me to deliver. He was invited to be present at the Conference and made every effort to arrange to do so but unfortunately official duties at the last moment prevented his coming. He desired me to say that he sympathizes most heartily with the object of the Conference and made every effort to be present. I may say he has done a great work as one of the most distinguished of Canadian statesmen and is now presiding over one of the Courts in Toronto. He initiated the great work of conciliation in Canada, a work which I agree with one of the speakers should be called to the attention of the Conference. That work is now in charge of a brilliant young protegé of President Eliot and the Conciliation Act drafted by Mr. McKenzie King has been commended to your consideration in a very able and powerful argument by President Eliot himself. There was some objection I may say to his becoming Minister of Labor to succeed Sir William Mulock, on the ground that he had been at Harvard, which was thought by some—not the majority—to make him altogether too aristocratic for a democratic country like Canada; but Mr. McKenzie King who was initiated into the work by Sir William Mulock and trained by President Eliot for it, is now in charge of the beneficent work of conciliation in Canada. The work already accomplished in that direction has been very great indeed. I quite agree with the speaker who said that is along the line of work of this Conference because if labor disputes are settled

by such peaceful methods disputes between nations will be settled more and more by reason and justice, not by violence and force. (Applause.)

PRESIDENT TAFT TO LEAD

REMARKS OF MR. W. A. MAHONY OF COLUMBUS

I trust you will allow me a moment to offer a cordial second to the suggestion made by our distinguished guest from England, Hon. Mr. Baker, Member of Parliament.

It seems to me, he has made a most valuable suggestion to this Conference, to the United States, to Germany and to Great Britain.

Mr. Baker suggests that the United States, through its President, extend an invitation to both Emperor William and King Edward to join the United States in talking over the possibility of a better way than war of settling international difficulties.

The United States is fitted by its isolation, by its intelligence, by its wealth and influence, to take the initiative in leading the nations of the world out of the morass of excessive armament.

Who of all our presidents is better fitted to lead the United States, than the honored man who now occupies our presidential chair?

It seems to me that this Conference should seize this opportunity of sending a committee to Washington to cordially second the suggestion of my distinguished friend and also to bring to the attention of President Taft the opportunity of his life to lead the nations to the better way than war of settling international differences. (Applause.)

The Conference then adjourned until 8.00 p. m.

Fourth Session

Thursday Evening, May 20, 1909

THE CHAIRMAN: The first part of this session will be devoted to the interest of business men and business organizations, and will open by a report of the Committee on Business Organizations, presented by Mr. CHARLES RICHARDSON of Philadelphia, its Chairman.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON BUSINESS MEN AND BUSINESS ORGANIZATIONS TO THE FIFTEENTH ANNUAL LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION

PRESENTED BY MR. CHARLES RICHARDSON, CHAIRMAN

During the past year the course pursued by our National Government and in general its attitude toward the promotion of International Peace have been so satisfactory, that your Committee on Business Men and Business Organizations have had no occasion to ask for any special appeal to the authorities at Washington. The work of the committee has therefore been mostly along educational and missionary lines.

Two Bulletins have been prepared and sent to a large number of organizations and individuals.

Bulletin No. 1 issued in September, 1908, contained a brief account of the wonderful progress and present status of International Arbitration, and an appeal for further efforts to promote it. A copy of Bulletin No. 1 is attached to this report.

Bulletin No. 2 issued in January, 1909, was an abstract of the admirable and encouraging address delivered by Hon. James Brown Scott at our Conference last year.

Plans for additional bulletins were considered but not fully matured.

At the suggestion of the chairman of your committee there were also sent to our correspondents about 450 copies of an appeal issued by the Pennsylvania Conference, for the organization of similar conferences for International Arbitration and Peace in each of the other States.

All together in this connection more than 6,000 printed papers have been distributed from these headquarters since May, 1908. This is without counting the large amount of correspondence incident to the work. The bulletins sent to organizations were accompanied by personal letters suggesting that they should be published in the official organs or in the newspapers, or dis-

tributed to the members. Full reports have not been received, but it is believed that half of the 169 organizations in sympathy and correspondence with this Conference have taken action in one or more of the ways suggested.

The burden of the work and correspondence has been borne by your Secretary, Mr. H. C. Phillips, who has attended to it with his usual diligence, ability and tact. His conclusion is that as an initial experiment the issuing of bulletins has justified itself, and that the facts contained in them have been brought to the attention of thousands of members of the associations, as well as thousands of others of the reading public.

The number of business organizations appointing delegates to the Conference this year is 58. Delegates from 43 organizations are present.

We can hardly emphasize too strongly the special advantages of the business men for creating and stimulating, at home and abroad, the public sentiment which is essential for the final success of the principles for which this Conference stands. Acting sometimes as organized bodies, and constantly in private conversations or correspondence, they can exert an enormous influence, and the exertion of this influence in other countries as well as in our own, is just as natural and just as legitimate, as it would be for any residents of a crowded city to try to persuade a near neighbor to refrain from filling his house with tons of dynamite. No nation can permit its rulers to convert it into an armed camp or arsenal, without adding to the expenses and endangering the interests of the people of other countries as well as its own.

In nations like ours where many of the officials and lawmakers are opposed to war, a strong public sentiment is necessary for their support and encouragement. In countries not so favorably situated it is even more important for the restraint of those whose theories would almost seem to lead to the conclusion that in each nation the only final limit to its armament must be the last dollar of its financial resources. But public sentiment is only another term for the aggregate of the beliefs and desires of a large proportion of the citizens, and it is in reaching, convincing and organizing the citizens that the business men have such special facilities and such unlimited opportunities. It is within their power to do more than any other class to create in our own and other great nations a public sentiment which no modern government could afford to ignore. It should be said moreover that the present is a most propitious time for efforts of this kind. There is a growing tendency towards that mental attitude which led Lord Salisbury, the English Prime Minister, to write to the representative of Great Britain in Egypt, that if their military friends could have their way they would want to garrison the

moon in order to prevent an invasion from Mars. The enormous recent and prospective increase in national armaments, is probably the most effective of all possible agencies, for arresting the attention of the "plain people," and forcing them to realize that ruinous outlays, and rates of taxation that will paralyze the industries of the world, will be the inevitable results, if they fail to demand and insist that their governments shall unite in establishing, and forever maintaining, better methods than those of war for securing justice and fairness in the settlement of all international differences.

May 20, 1909.

CHARLES RICHARDSON, Chairman,
JOHN CROSBY BROWN,
JOEL COOK,
MAHLON N. KLINE,
W. A. MAHONY,
GEORGE FOSTER PEABODY,
ELWYN G. PRESTON,
CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF,
Committee.

DELEGATES OF BUSINESS ORGANIZATIONS PRESENT AT THE CONFERENCE OF 1909

NATIONAL

The National Association of Manufacturers, St. Louis. . A. B. Farquhar
The National Board of Trade, Washington . . . . . Frank D. LaLanne, President
The National Business League of America, Chicago. . . . LaVerne W. Noyes, President.
The National League of Commission Merchants, Boston. A. Warren Patch, Vice-President.

COLORADO

The Chamber of Commerce, Denver . . . . . Henry Van Kleeck.
The Real Estate Exchange, Denver . . . . . Henry Van Kleeck.

CONNECTICUT

The Business Men's Association, New Haven . . . . . John B. Kennedy, Vice-President.
The Chamber of Commerce, New Haven . . . . . Simeon E. Baldwin..

DELAWARE

The Board of Trade, Wilmington . . . . . William P. Bancroft.

FLORIDA

The Board of Trade, Jacksonville . . . . . W. A. Bours, President.

ILLINOIS

Illinois Manufacturers' Association, Chicago . . . . . LaVerne W. Noyes, President.

MARYLAND

The Board of Trade, Baltimore . . . . . C. C. Macgill, President.
The Chamber of Commerce, Baltimore . . . . . D. M. Wylie, President.

MASSACHUSETTS

The Massachusetts State Board of Trade, Boston. . . . . H. M. Batchelder, Vice-President.
The Board of Trade, Lynn . . . . . R. S. Bauer, President.
The Board of Trade, Springfield . . . . . George H. Sutton.
The Business Men's Association, Waltham . . . . . James S. Kennedy.
The Board of Trade, Worcester . . . . . Charles T. Tatman, President.

MICHIGAN

The Business Men's Association, Battle Creek . . . . . I. L. Stone.

NEW JERSEY

The Board of Trade, Camden.....Alexander C. Wood.
The Board of Trade, Elizabeth.....Elias D. Smith.
The Board of Trade, Hoboken.....Edward H. Horwood, President.
The Board of Trade, Newark.....Peter Campbell, Ex-President.

NEW YORK

The Chamber of Commerce, Albany.....W. B. Jones, Secretary.
The Board of Trade, Amsterdam.....Luther L. Dean, Ex-President.
The Manufacturers' Association of New York, Brooklyn..Andrew F. Wilson, President.
The Chamber of Commerce, Elmira.....S. E. Eastman.
The Board of Trade and Transportation, New York....William McCarroll, President.
The Board of Trade, Poughkeepsie.....Edmund Platt.
The Chamber of Commerce, Rochester.....Daniel B. Murphy.
The Chamber of Commerce, Watertown.....A. M. Brodie.

OHIO

The Chamber of Commerce, Cincinnati.....Charles B. Murray, Supt.
The Board of Trade, Columbus.....W. A. Mahony.

PENNSYLVANIA

The Chamber of Commerce, Erie.....Clark Olds, Ex-President.
The Board of Trade, Philadelphia.....W. R. Tucker, Secretary.
The Chamber of Commerce, Philadelphia.....Mahlon N. Kline, Ex-President.
The Commercial Museum, Philadelphia.....William S. Harvey, President.
The Board of Trade, Scranton.....A. W. Dickson, Ex-President.

RHODE ISLAND

The Board of Trade, Providence.....F. H. Jackson.

WASHINGTON

The Commercial Club, Seattle.....Joseph H. Shippen.
The Chamber of Commerce, Seattle.....Joseph H. Shippen.

WISCONSIN

The Chamber of Commerce, Oshkosh.....George M. Paine, President.

CANADA

The Board of Trade, Winnipeg.....A. L. Johnson, Ex-President.

COOPERATING AND CORRESPONDING BUSINESS ORGANIZATIONS

The following bodies have enrolled as Cooperating and Corresponding Business Organizations to assist in furthering the work of the Mohonk Conference. Organizations marked with a * have adopted resolutions favoring international arbitration, or assumed other active cooperation; those marked with a † have standing committees on international arbitration; and those marked with a ° have appointed delegates to one or more meetings of the Mohonk Conference.

NATIONAL

The National Association of Clothiers°.....New York.
The National Association of Manufacturers°*.....St. Louis
The National Board of Trade*°.....Washington.
The National Business League of America*°.....Chicago
The National League of Commission Merchants*°.....Boston

ALABAMA

The Commercial Club°.....Birmingham.
The Chamber of Commerce.....Mobile.
The Commercial Club.....Montgomery.

ARKANSAS.

The Arkansas State Board of Trade*†°.....Little Rock.
The Board of Trade*°†.....Little Rock.

CALIFORNIA.

The Fresno Co. Chamber of Commerce.....Fresno.
The Chamber of Commerce*°.....Los Angeles.
The Chamber of Commerce.....Oakland.
The Merchants' Exchange*.....Oakland.
The Chamber of Commerce*°.....Sacramento.
The California State Board of Trade°.....San Francisco.
The Chamber of Commerce.....San Francisco.
The Merchants Exchange*.....San Francisco..

COLORADO.

The Chamber of Commerce*°
Colorado Springs.
The Merchants' Association*°
Colorado Springs.
The Real Estate Exchange°
Colorado Springs.
The Chamber of Commerce*.....Denver.
The Colorado State Commercial Association*°.....Denver.
The Real Estate Exchange*°.....Denver.
The Citizens Mining & Improvement Association.....Leadville.
The Business Men's Association°.. Pueblo.

CONNECTICUT.

The Board of Trade.....Bridgeport.
The Board of Trade.....Meriden.
The Business Men's Association*°
New Haven.
The Chamber of Commerce*†°.New Haven.
The Business Men's Association
New London.

DELAWARE.

The Board of Trade°..... Wilmington.

FLORIDA.

The Board of Trade*°.....Jacksonville.
The Board of Trade.....Tampa.

GEORGIA.

The Chamber of Commerce.....Augusta.
The Cotton Exchange*.....Savannah.

HAWAII.

The Chamber of Commerce*°....Honolulu.

ILLINOIS.

The Board of Trade*.....Chicago.
Illinois Manufacturers' Association°
Chicago.
The Business Men's Association..Freeport.
The Business Men's Association....Moline.
The Chamber of Commerce°*.....Quincy.
The Business Men's Association*†
Springfield.

INDIANA.

The Business Association.....Evansville.
The Manufacturers' Association
Evansville.
The Commercial Club.....Fort Wayne.
The Board of Trade.....Indianapolis.
The Commercial Club°.....Indianapolis.

IOWA.

The Merchants' Association..Cedar Rapids.
The Commercial Club.....Council Bluffs.
The Commercial Club*†.....Des Moines.

KANSAS.

The Commercial Club.....Leavenworth.
The Commercial Club of Topeka*.Topeka.
The Chamber of Commerce.....Wichita.

KENTUCKY.

The Board of Trade*.....Louisville.
The Merchants & Manufacturers Association.....Louisville.
The Commercial Club.....Newport.

LOUISIANA.

The Board of Trade, Ltd.*°.New Orleans.
The Progressive Union*....New Orleans.
The Progressive League.....Shreveport.

MAINE.

The Maine State Board of Trade°.Bango.
The Merchants' Exchange and Board of Trade*°.....Portland.

MARYLAND.

The Board of Trade*°.....Baltimore.
The Chamber of Commerce*°..Baltimore.

MASSACHUSETTS.

The Chamber of Commerce*†°.....Boston.
The Massachusetts State Board of Trade*†°
Boston.
The Merchants' Association*°....Boston..
The Brockton Board of Trade..Brockton.
The Board of Trade.....Lawrence.
The Board of Trade*°.....Lynn.
The Board of Trade*†°.....Springfield.
The Business Men's Association*†°
Waltham.
The Board of Trade°.....Worcester.

MICHIGAN.

The Business Men's Association*°
Battle Creek.

MINNESOTA.

The Commercial Club.....Minneapolis.
The Northwestern Manufacturers' Association*.....St. Paul.

MISSOURI.

The Board of Trade*°.....Kansas City.
The Commercial Club.....Kansas City.
The Commercial Club.....St. Joseph.
The Business Men's League.....St. Louis.
The Latin-American and Foreign Trade Association*°.....St. Louis.
The Merchants' Exchange*°....St. Louis.

NEBRASKA.

The Commercial Club*.....Lincoln
The Commercial Club*†°.....Omaha.
The Real Estate Exchange*.....Omaha.

NEVADA.

The Nevada Commercial League....Reno.

NEW JERSEY.

The Board of Trade*†°.....Camden.
The Board of Trade*†°.....Elizabeth
The Hoboken Board of Trade*°..Hoboken.
The Board of Trade*†°.....Newark.
The Taxpayers Association.....Paterson.

NEW MEXICO.

The Commercial Club°.....Albuquerque.

NEW YORK

The Chamber of Commerce*†°....Albany.
The Board of Trade°* ..... Amsterdam.
The Business Men's Association*°†.Auburn.
The Chamber of Commerce°†*.Binghamton.
The Manufacturers' Association of New York*†°.....Brooklyn.
The Chamber of Commerce*°.....Buffalo.
The Chamber of Commerce*°.....Elmira.
The Chamber of Commerce°.....Geneva.
The Manufacturers' Association.Jamestown
The Board of Trade*°.....Lockport.
The Board of Trade & Transportation*†°
New York.
The Merchants' Association*†°..New York.
The North Side Board of Trade.New York.
The Produce Exchange.....New York.

The Chamber of Commerce°.Poughkeepsie.
The Chamber of Commerce*°...Rochester.
The Chamber of Commerce*°....Syracuse.
The Chamber of Commerce.....Troy.
The Chamber of Commerce*.....Utica.
The Chamber of Commerce°...Watertown.

NORTH CAROLINA

The Board of Trade.....Asheville.
The Commercial Club.....Charlotte.
The Chamber of Commerce*..Greensboro.
The Chamber of Commerce & Industry Raleigh.
The Retail Grocers' Association..Raleigh.

OHIO

The Business Men's Club*°†....Cincinnati.
The Chamber of Commerce*†°..Cincinnati.
The Chamber of Commerce*†°..Cleveland.
The Board of Trade*†°.....Columbus.
The Chamber of Commerce°.....Dayton.
The Chamber of Commerce*.....Elyria.

OKLAHOMA

The Chamber of Commerce.Oklahoma City.

OREGON

The Board of Trade°.....Portland.
The Chamber of Commerce*°....Portland.

PENNSYLVANIA

The Board of Trade.....Chester.
The Board of Trade*.....Erie.
The Business Men's Exchange*.....Erie.
The Chamber of Commerce*†°.....Erie.
The Board of Trade°*.....Harrisburg.
The Board of Trade.....Lancaster.
The Chamber of Commerce..McKeesport.
The Board of Trade*†°.....Philadelphia.
The Chamber of Commerce*†°.Philadelphia
The Commercial Museum°...Philadelphia.
The Chamber of Commerce*°...Pittsburg.
The Board of Trade.....Reading.
The Board of Trade*†°.....Scranton.
The Board of Trade.....Wilkesbarre.
The Board of Trade°.....Williamsport.

RHODE ISLAND

The Merchants' Association....Pawtucket.
The Board of Trade°*.....Providence

SOUTH CAROLINA

The Chamber of Commerce°...Charleston.

TENNESSEE

The Cotton Exchange*.....Memphis.
The Merchants' Exchange*.....Memphis.
The Board of Trade*°.....Nashville

TEXAS

The Chamber of Commerce°....Beaumont.
The Commercial Club.....Dallas.
The Chamber of Commerce....Galveston.

UTAH

The Commercial Club°.....Salt Lake City.

VERMONT

The Commercial Club.....Burlington.

VIRGINIA

The Board of Trade & Business Men's Association.....Norfolk.
The Stock Exchange.....Richmond.

WASHINGTON

The Chamber of Commerce°*.....Seattle.
The Commercial Club°.....Seattle.
The Chamber of Commerce°*....Spokane.
The Chamber of Commerce*.....Tacoma.

WEST VIRGINIA

The Board of Trade°*.....Wheeling.
The West Virginia Board of Trade° Wheeling.

WISCONSIN

The Commercial Club.....Menomonie.
The Chamber of Commerce*°.Milwaukee.
The Chamber of Commerce.....Oshkosh.

WYOMING

The Industrial Club of Cheyenne*° Cheyenne.

CANADA

The Board of Trade.....Hamilton.
The Board of Trade*.....Montreal.
The Board of Trade°*.....Toronto.
The Canadian Manufacturers' Association* Toronto.
The Retail Merchants' Association of Canada*.....Toronto.
The Board of Trade*°.....Winnipeg.

BULLETIN NO. I TO BUSINESS ORGANIZATIONS, ISSUED BY THE

LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION

Mohonk Lake, Ulster County, New York

Progress of International Arbitration

International arbitration is neither novel nor impractical. In a narrow sense, it means the submission by two or more nations of a difference to be determined by a disinterested party, usually a prominent individual, sometimes a number of individuals. In this simple form, arbitration settled no less than 195 international disputes during the nineteenth century, a number now increased to more than 240. The average during the past twenty years has been about six cases a year. The United States has been a party to more than sixty cases, Great Britain to more than seventy, and thirty-five other nations have been parties to arbitrations. The Alabama Claims dispute between the United States and Great Britain is a well-known example of the class of cases so disposed of.

Since the first Hague Conference, in 1899, the term international arbitration has been more broadly construed to include the work of "mixed commissions" and "commissions of inquiry" as well as the development of international law expressed in international tribunals and courts. Notable achievements under these heads were the settlement of the Alaskan boundary question by a mixed commission, and of the North Sea (Dogger Bank) incident by a commission of inquiry.

The first Hague Conference framed the great Convention for the Peaceful Adjustment of International Differences and created the Hague Tribunal, a panel from which arbitrators may be drawn for particular cases. This Tribunal has determined four international controversies, and the United States and Great Britain are about to refer to it the long-standing Newfoundland Fisheries dispute.

The second Hague Conference, in 1907, despite current impressions to the contrary, measured a great advance. It was the first time in history that representatives of practically *all* nations had met to consider the maintenance of peace—for only twenty-six nations had participated in the first Conference. It unanimously declared that henceforth no nation may use force to collect contract debts from another nation without first offering to arbitrate. It provided, also unanimously, for an international court of prize, to which recourse may be had from decisions of national courts. It revised and improved the Hague Convention of 1899, gave greater power to commissions of inquiry and provided that either of two differing nations may publicly ask that the difference be referred to the Hague Tribunal. It practically made itself a periodic body by resolving that a third conference should be held at or about 1915. And as, perhaps, its greatest service, it prepared and adopted a complete plan for the organization and procedure of a real International Court of Justice to supplement the Hague Tribunal. It did not determine a method of apportioning the judges in the court but left the matter in such form that two or more nations (no number being specified) may on their own initiative set the court in operation by simply appointing judges, other nations being free to join in the same way whenever so disposed. Secretary Root is quoted as being confident that through ordinary diplomatic channels the international court, the dream of mankind for ages, will be a reality before the third Hague Conference. While the Hague Conference did not adopt a general treaty of arbitration, it unanimously endorsed the principle, and thirty-five of forty-four nations were ready to negotiate such a treaty.

It is significant that prior to the close of the second Hague Conference treaties of arbitration between different nations had been negotiated to the number of fifty-four, and that since the Conference the United States has negotiated, and the Senate has ratified, similar treaties with twelve leading powers, to which it is reported treaties with Germany and with China will soon be added. While most of these treaties exclude questions affecting "national honor," they nevertheless cover a broad field. This exception of "national honor" will probably not be entirely eliminated until a public sentiment, based on the actual achievements of arbitration shall have been created strong enough to assure just treatment of such questions by an international court.

The creation of such a public sentiment is a task before the arbitration movement and the primary purpose of many gatherings, particularly of the Lake Mohonk Conference on International Abitration which has met annually since 1895 on the invitation of Mr. Albert K. Smiley, the owner of a great resort estate at Mohonk Lake, N. Y. That conference has enlisted the aid of various classes, but none more influential than the business men. Leading boards of trade, chambers of commerce and like bodies to the number of more than 165, representing every large city and every part of this country and Canada, are cooperating with the Conference, and at its meeting in May, 1908, delegates present from forty-seven of these organizations united in the following expression:

> "The men representing business organizations in various parts of the country recognize the fact that international arbitration as a substitute for war between nations is a *practical proposition;* that practical education should be encouraged as the best means to hasten the day of a World's Court of Justice; that the business men, being vitally interested in this, the greatest cause of humanity, feel it their duty to assume a large share of the financial burden of this educational campaign. They appreciate, further, that they should give time and serious thought to the problems confronting those who are now engaged in the international arbitration movement."

There can be no doubt that this sentiment of the business men is shared in official circles.

The United States Government is entitled to the most cordial commendation for the earnestness, wisdom and tact which it has shown in connection with the Hague Conferences, and in its subsequent efforts to carry out their recommendations, and to negotiate new treaties. But the government needs something more than commendation in this purely non-partisan and non-political work. It needs to know that in this highest field of statesmanship it has behind it an active public sentiment so strong and so well-informed that there can never be any lack of adequate support against unwise criticism or adverse interests. In a recent letter to the Pennsylvania Arbitration and Peace Conference the Honorable Elihu Root, "the great Peace Secretary of State," said:

> "The true work of promoting peace is not so much a matter of diplomacy as it is a matter of education. The great obstacle to the peaceful settlement of most international disputes is to be found in popular intolerance of concession. * * * When the people of the civilized countries have been educated up to the spirit of fairness and just consideration for the rights of others, * * * the danger of war will be, in a great measure, ended."

It is in this educational work, and in the promotion and increase of the needful public sentiment that every right-minded person can find opportunities for effective efforts in private conversations or corres-

pondence or in public addresses or by means of letters or articles in current publications, business or special circulars. No suitable opportunities should be neglected by those who can make it clear that an avoidance of the losses and calamities, inseparable from war, is a matter of urgent importance for the personal and business interests of each individual, as well as for those of the nation as a whole.

September 20, 1908.

CHARLES RICHARDSON, *Chairman,*
JOHN CROSBY BROWN,
JOEL COOK,
MAHLON N. KLINE,
W. A. MAHONY,
GEORGE FOSTER PEABODY,
ELWYN G. PRESTON,
CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF,
Committee on Business Organizations.

NOTE—For further information or printed data concerning any points mentioned in the foregoing article, or for additional copies, address the Secretary of the Mohonk Conference, Mohonk Lake, N. Y.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary of the Conference is recognized.

THE SECRETARY: The report to which we have just listened was prepared, as Mr. Richardson has told you, by the Committee on Business Organizations, of which Committee Mr. Richardson has been Chairman from the beginning. The Committee was appointed on his motion some years ago, and it is from purely personal wishes, and much to the regret of the Committee, that he wishes to be relieved from the duties of Chairman, although he has consented to retain a place on the Committee, which is constituted for the coming year as follows:

James Wood, Mt. Kisco, N. Y., Chairman; Charles Richardson, Philadelphia; Joel Cook, Philadelphia; Mahlon N. Kline, Philadelphia; Harlow N. Higinbotham, Chicago; Clinton Rogers Woodruff, Philadelphia; Elwyn G. Preston, Boston; W. A. Mahony, Columbus; George Foster Peabody, New York; Marcus M. Marks, New York; William McCarroll, New York.

THE CHAIRMAN: The report of the Committee of Business Organizations without objection will be received; as will the announcement of the new Committee. We are now to have the pleasure of hearing an address by an eminent business man, President of the great New York Board of Trade and Transportation, and a member of the Public Service Commission of this State, Hon. WILLIAM MCCARROLL.

REMARKS OF HON. WILLIAM McCARROLL

I very much regret that I have to offer you an apology instead of an address; but I find myself suffering from an acute affection of the vocal cords, which has deprived me of the use of my voice and knowing how unpleasant it is to listen to any one speaking under such circumstances, I will not impose myself upon you to make any address. I am very sorry that my voice fails me at a time when I wish to speak in the interest of peace and international arbitration.

We business men are so accustomed to look with pride at the progress of our commercial enterprises that I sometimes think we fail to take note of the great progress of the world in those things which are, after all, the true things of life—the humanities, which are the best and the highest. I will only take time to make the remark now that I think this Conference can express the felicitations which should be felt throughout the world on the recent progress of the work in behalf of peace, and I think we can take great courage from what has been achieved in recent years, as we look to the future, feeling that the cause which is so dear to us and to lovers of humanity throughout the world is making such magnificent progress, and that to it success must shortly come. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The delegates present at the Conference from business organizations have held one or two special meetings since reaching here, and as a result of these meetings their Chairman, Mr. MAHLON N. KLINE of Philadelphia, will now present the resolution they have adopted.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE DELEGATES PRESENT FROM BUSINESS ORGANIZATIONS

PRESENTED BY MR. MAHLON N. KLINE, CHAIRMAN

Mr. Kline: Mr. President, on behalf of the business men present at this Conference, I present the following resolution:

Resolved: That the representatives of the organized business interests of the country, assembled at the fifteenth annual meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration, desire to again express their hearty endorsement of the broad and beneficent purposes of the conference, as expressed in its many utterances favoring international arbitration in the settlement of disputes between nations to the end that war, with all its horrors, may be avoided, and trade and commerce may be protected from its blighting effect.

The rivalry among civilized nations for increased armaments is greatly to be deprecated.

We believe the time has come in which nations should depend upon justice.

Therefore, we advise that nations trust to arbitration rather than force, to courts rather than arms, for the adjustment of international disputes.

We urge upon the President of the United States taking the initiative in leading the nations to a concurrent, proportionate reduction in the armies and navies of the world. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The resolution just read will be received and entered on the records.

We are now to have an address by a representative of a great and friendly people, the Japanese Consul General in New York, Hon. K. MIDZUNO.

TRADE AND PEACE, FROM THE JAPANESE POINT OF VIEW

ADDRESS OF HON. K. MIDZUNO

Ninety per cent. of the extensive trade between the United States and Japan is actually transacted in New York. Being the official representative of Japan in that Empire City, my address will naturally touch of trade.

Japan is an old country, but very young as a member of the comity of nations. It was in 1850 that the American fleet under the command of your gallant sailor diplomat knocked at the door of the Island Empire of the East which was then still a terra incognito to most of the Western nations, and invited its secluded people to enter into the comity of the nations of the world. It is from that time that Japan has taken her position abreast with the foremost nations of the world in what we call the Western civilization. It is from that time that the most cordial relations between the United States and Japan have existed and, in spite of the incidental troubles and the untiring efforts of the jingoistic papers and professional alarmists, such cordial friendship is bound to be an everlasting one.

We are so confident of the sincerity of American friendship, that during the past few years when so many bitter voices against Japan were heard in a certain section of this great republic the whole Japanese people remained quiet and fully convinced of the fact that those anti-Japanese movements did not represent true sentiment of the American people at large.

Figures and statistics are a little too heavy an entertainment for an after dinner address, but just to give you a rough idea of what Japan has accomplished in the past forty years, I will give you some brief data.

The total population which was thirty-three millions in 1872 was no less than fifty millions in 1907 an increase of about half a million every year. And our foreign trade which was only thirteen millions in 1881 has increased fourteen times in the past quarter-century.

The last but not the least important item, is that of education. In 1879, the rate of school attendance was only 41 per cent. of the

children of school age. In 1906, the percentage was 95 1-6 per cent. This wonderful success is mainly due to the compulsory national education, which by the way, was extended to six years a few years ago. Foreign languages—especially English—are generally taught for at least an hour a day; in most cases more than that.

But, ladies and gentlemen, while we express satisfaction on reviewing what we have accomplished in the past forty years, we must not overlook the interests accruing from our seclusion of several centuries.

We would not have been able to adopt and digest the Western civilization if our forefathers had not been fostered in the school of Oriental civilization.

Fortunately, built upon the foundation of the singular refinement of the East and inspired with the wonders of the modern sciences of the West, the new Japan is making most strenuous efforts in the struggle of the worldly competition toward the goal of refinement. And in this struggle the Japanese people have looked and will continue to look to the United States for brotherly guidance and friendly assistance, which I believe you will generously continue to give.

In this international race toward the goal of refinement, Japan is, of course, handicapped by her late start, and has to make up the gaps by leaps and bounds lest she might not be able to keep pace with European and American people.

It is the national aim and ideal of the Japanese nation and I strongly believe that it is the mission Providence has allotted to Japan to assimilate and unite two vast streams of Oriental and Occidental civilizations, thus contributing our share to the happiness and well-being of the human race at large, and what we have accomplished in the past half century I hope will prove that we are worthy of that high mission and lofty ideal.

How can such be accomplished? In peace and by peace. Milton said, "Peace hath victories no less renowned than wars." Japan must and shall gain no less renown in the works of peace than she has gained in wars.

Now let me speak a few words regarding the relations between the two countries. The Pacific ocean will be the centre of the world's commerce. The Pacific is a lake common to our two countries. The same water that divides us makes us neighbors. You all know that your Atlantic fleet visited Japan on its cruise around the world. I am surprised to find that some people in this country still believe that the battleship fleet was sent to Japan to intimidate Japan and to put pressure on the Japanese government so to have it concede on the immigration question. Nothing can be farther from the truth than this. The so-called "gentlemen's agreement" between the two governments in regard to

immigration was fixed early in the spring of 1908, and it was Baron Takahira, our Ambassador, who started the idea and tendered the invitation on behalf of his government.

Speaking about the visit of the fleet, I cannot help but remember one story which was told me of something which happened during their stay in Japan. One day the Mayor of Tokyo gave a big garden party to the officers and the men of the American fleet. The "blue jackets of Uncle Sam" had such a nice time all the afternoon, and they were in lighter vein coming back to their respective ships. It was about four o'clock in the afternoon when they came to Yokohama Station to go on board their respective ships. They had to pass under a big evergreen arch, which had been built for the purpose of welcoming the fleet and "*Welcome*" was in big letters in both Japanese and English and the American and Japanese flags were intertwined about the arch. But it caught fire from an imperfect electric wire and was half burning as the blue jackets approached. Some five or six of these American blue jackets had passed, when one of the smartest fellows saw these two flags—the American and the Japanese—in danger of being burned. He climbed up that burning arch and saved those two flags from being burned! What do you think the name of this blue jacket was? It was *Hobson!* (Laughter.)

My senior, Baron Takahira, the Ambassador, was one of the speakers at this Conference last year, and shortly after that speech he, in cooperation with Senator Elihu Root, then Secretary of State, succeded in adding one more tie of friendship between the two countries. I mean the great diplomatic exchange of notes on our common policy in the Pacific and China.

I rejoice with you that diplomatic declarations between the United States and Japan were so heartily welcomed, by not only the people of both countries, but of the whole world, as the guarantee of peace.

But we must not forget that in the present day of the twentieth century commerce and trade play a more important part than the honeyed phraseology of diplomacy in bringing together the people of different countries. The international relations of today no longer consist merely in the exchange of envoys and despatches, but they are and must be based on the sound basis of good mutual understanding and intercourse between the peoples and upon the commercial and industrial interdependence between the countries.

I might say with safety, that the benefit accruing from such expression of the friendly sentiment between our two peoples as has lately taken place, will be greatly discounted if they are not supported and followed by increasing trade and commercial relations.

There was a time in the history of the Anglo-Saxon, a very

few centuries ago, when the relation between a good gentleman and his neighbor, who was the same kind of a good gentleman, consisted of either open war or guarded and suspicious truce. When we read of the times of King Arthur or of the Barons of King John's reign in England, we are forced to remark that the animosity and misunderstanding between them was due entirely to their ignorance of each other's motives, true thoughts and character.

They gradually learned that the hearts of all their countrymen were much the same, and that they could trust and love their neighbors, as their own family. And so to-day, you, their descendants, no longer send heralds with ultimatums to the next county, but instead send your girls there to school and your eggs there to market, with never a thought of trouble. You trust your neighbor because you know him.

This principle applies to all human affairs and relations. It is as true in the intercourse of nations as it is in the intercourse of individuals. And so it is with this country and Japan. I tell you, that those in America (I think there are few) who have ill-feeling or doubt or misunderstanding about my people, are ignorant—ignorant of the character and thoughts and motives of the Japanese. For if we only knew, and the veil of false report and prejudice were lifted, we should find that the hearts of all men, of every country and every shore, are much the same.

And this complete understanding between this country and Japan which it is our duty to foster, will lead inevitably to the upbuilding of much greater prosperity and well-being in both countries. It was my constant experience since my arrival to be surprised at the lack of knowledge about Japan and her people among the Americans.

You laugh at our costumes as very unpractical, but we pity the American husband who has to fix fifty or a hundred buttons and hooks of the dress of his wife. You charge Japanese dishonesty in commercial transactions, but when I was wondering which railroad was best to reach here, I looked at the maps of railroad lines and I found each line was the shortest route—according to its own map. You are surprised at something new, but accept as inevitable those things to which you are accustomed.

Of course intelligent people of this country who have read something about Japan know how beautiful our landscapes are and how picturesque our costumes are. But I wonder if the great mass of the American people know anything definite and concrete about our modern progress.

If I were to go home after a few years' stay in this country and tell my countrymen that America is only a country of skyscrapers, ice water and huge bonnets, merry widows or inverted peach baskets, it would be gross injustice to the people of this great

Republic. Equal injustice will be done to Japan and her people if you think it is the land of "Madame Butterfly," paper fans, and incense sticks to destroy mosquitoes. There's the sting, ladies and gentlemen.

It is but human nature to study more closely anything in which one's interests are involved or with which one's interests may come in contact.

Commerce necessitates more knowledge of other people's affairs. Better knowledge stimulates more trade. Prosperous trade brings about closer friendship. Now, how is the trade between our two countries? Japan's trade with the United States which amounted to only 6½ millions in 1881, was about 106 million dollars in 1907—an increase of 16 times in a quarter century. According to the trade return for 1908 just published, the United States comes ahead of all other foreign countries in trade with Japan.

The most important item of the trade between the United States and Japan is silk, raw silk, and I have the pleasure to say that 61% (in 1907) of the silk worn by you ladies, came from Japan and was woven and dyed here. You may say you are customers of Parisian dressmakers, but France also imports large quantities of our raw silks. You will see, therefore, that thin and fine as they are, the threads of silk are the most important factors that bind us and strengthen and promote the friendly ties between our two countries. In this respect the silks are much more powerful than the anchor cables of the battleships.

Reviewing from the United States' side of the trade, Japan is ninth in the list of Uncle Sam's customers. The Japanese buy more of your product and merchandise than do the Russians, the Spaniards, the Danes, the Austro-Hungarians, the Swiss, the Norwegians, the Portuguese, the Turks or the Greeks. But at present the trade relation between the United States and Japan is rather unbalanced. You buy more from us than we buy from you. In other words, you import more raw materials from Japan than you export your manufactured goods to Japan. This balance amounted to 25 million dollars.

On the other hand, Japan's trade with European countries shows a balance unfavorable to us to the amount of 42 million dollars. We buy more manufactured goods from European countries than we sell our goods to them.

Let us stop here and consider. What kind of the manufactured goods are imported to Japan to such enormous amounts? Are they not manufactured in this country? Yes, you make them here in this country.

There are eagerness and readiness in Japan to immediately adopt and use the American products. It is astonishing to me

how comparatively little the enterprising American has "developed" this new and fertile market of the East.

The only adjustment of the present uneven trade relations could be found in cultivating better knowledge of the Japanese market among the American merchants on one side and the closer study of American goods by the Japanese people on the other.

Depend upon my words, ladies and gentlemen, when American people understand Japan and her people half as well as you do your British cousins, then your trade with Japan will be increased by ten times, which will prove a more effective guarantee of peace than dreadnoughts.

With this view, ladies and gentlemen, I sincerely hope that in your different spheres of activity you will cooperate in promoting and cementing the good relationship between the two countries, and I further hope that the international horizon, which certain people alleged to be cloudy sometime ago, will be clear, so clear that even the yellowest journals of this and our country can no longer find any meteorological item for a pessimistic weather forecast.

I thank you. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Our next speaker, while not from Japan, is about as near there as he can be and remain on this continent, Mr. JOSEPH SHIPPEN, of Seattle.

THE PACIFIC COAST AND THE PEACE MOVEMENT

ADDRESS OF MR. JOSEPH SHIPPEN

I have the pleasure of representing the business men of Seattle who are organized in the Chamber of Commerce, a body that has existed for thirty years and has been very efficient in building up that city. It recently showed its interest in the cause of arbitration and peace, which we represent here in some measure, by sending an invitation to the National Peace Congress assembled in Chicago a few weeks ago to hold two years hence, its next and third meeting in the city of Seattle.

I also have the pleasure of representing the Commercial Club of Seattle, composed of about one thousand active men, with high civic ideals. I have the pleasure too of representing what interests us all, and that is a society of those connected with the University of Washington. It is the Cosmopolitan Club of the University of Washington at the city of Seattle, an organization of students and the faculty of the State University, having for its declared object, "to bring closer together men from different countries to learn the customs, the view points and characteristics of their nationalities, to remove national prejudice and establish international friendship," and having for its motto, "Above all

nations is humanity." (Applause.) We have many organizations that are up-to-date, as the Associated Charities, the Red Cross Society and the Asiatic Society,—each active in its respective sphere. But the friends of peace have felt of late that we needed a definite organization directed to make war against war. This movement has been promoted by correspondence with secretary, Dr. Trueblood of Boston and secretary Professor Dutton of New York, in such a way that a permanent organization of a peace society was effected at Seattle last Tuesday evening. Allow me to read you the brief despatch regarding it which I received to-day: "Named, Peacemakers. Thoroughly organized. Whaley president. Affiliated American Society. Encouraging." Signed by Mr. Allen who is the secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association of Seattle.

Members of this Conference, our new society greets you across the continent. Now we are about to have, as you know, a great Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition at Seattle. I do not say that it will be the largest but it will surely be one of the best, well organized and beginning on time. (Applause.) The friends of peace thought the opportunity ought to be availed of to present the cause of arbitration and peace. Our society which was organized on the anniversary of the meeting of the First Conference at The Hague, will in some measure take up and carry on the work of peace propaganda. We may not have a representative convention as some of us wished, but we shall have headquarters and use the opportunity for distributing literature, and maintain a place where our enlisted and visiting friends can enroll their names. Any of you who may visit Seattle during the next three or four months, interested in this cause, will surely be welcomed at these headquarters and we hope to see many of you. We hope to have addresses in the great auditorium which will contain twenty-five hundred auditors. I think the opportunity may well be availed of in this representative Exposition designed to raise civilization and elevate humanity.

You know Darwin's expression as to "adaptation to environment." I would use another expression in connection with it, that of "persistency of tendency." When we establish a tendency that is good, that tendency under the providence of God goes forward and on. Unfortunately there may be bad tendencies; but if we establish good tendencies, we may rely on corresponding results. Many engaged in the reforms of the world get impatient. They want immediate results, perhaps desire revolution rather than evolution; but if we can establish firm tendencies in the direction of desired reform,—in the direction of the uplifting of humanity, we in some measure ought to be content therewith. Tendencies planted in the minds of the young, of the rising generation, will go forward, and as they come to step into the posi-

tions of influence and power and succeed us, as must necessarily be the case in the course of a few years, we may well trust that these good tendencies so established will go on and on, and aid and assist the uplift of humanity according to our highest ideals. Special opportunity is given, in connection with our Exposition for the work of propagating the doctrine of international arbitration and the principles of peace.

Do you ask me, "What is the general sentiment in Seattle and on the Pacific Coast, in regard to this matter?" Well, friends, I must say frankly it is somewhat divided. There is a commercialism naturally arising from the large profits made in the Pacific Coast cities through the recent war in the Philippines. Then again, it is naturally desired that Federal money shall be freely spent in the larger navy yards, and dock yards, and that the forts shall be enlarged. Seattle is ambitious to have a regimental port with a permanent brass band. So that is one phase of public thought. Another phase is the undeveloped thought, upon which we cannot place a great deal of reliance, of those who freely declare "Oh, yes, we are in favor of peace—but—" such are not the men to organize and maintain a genuine, efficient peace society. Beyond these two classes influenced by commercialism and unsettled convictions there are those who have decided sentiments and convictions on this subject, and there are many such to be found on our Coast. An efficient society has been formed on the southern part of the Coast, at Los Angeles, California, from which I hope we shall hear some report through a gentleman—its active prime mover—who is in attendance here. I am speaking, however, more especially for the northern part of the Coast, and would assure you that there are those who will stand by these organizations, and not only use every opportunity so far as we may be able in connection with the present Exposition, but we will try to join hands with the Chamber of Commerce in having and promoting to success and efficiency a grand Peace Congress two years hence in our city of Seattle. I will not occupy your attention, friends, further by an account of the work on the distant Coast, but I would assure you of the great opportunity that exists there and of the importance of availing ourselves of it in this work of propaganda as clearly presented this morning, in public schools and universities and colleges of the land, and in various ways. I would like to carry back, as I feel confident I may do from this presence, the assurance of your sympathy and cooperation in anything that we may earnestly and faithfully do to advance this great cause. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I now take pleasure in presenting Mr. A. L. JOHNSON of Winnipeg, who has come a great distance to represent the Winnipeg Board of Trade in this conference.

"A VOICE FROM CANADA ON INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION"

REMARKS OF MR. A. L. JOHNSON

On behalf of the Winnipeg Board of Trade I desire to express our appreciation of being extended an invitation to be present at this notable gathering, and also to extend my sincere thanks to Mr. Smiley for his very kind and generous hospitality on this occasion.

Canadians are largely interested with yourselves in international arbitration, it being a subject in which the two peoples have much in common, and in which both are vitally concerned. Canada internationally considered, is in a unique position on this question, in lying alongside a powerful and yet peaceful neighbor. We recognize in that neighbor a friend whose aims and aspirations in the cause of humanity are mutual with our own.

The greatest international benefit that could accrue to Canada, would be international arbitration and limitation of armaments,—and I will tell you why. Canada is engaged in building up a nation; it is a country of vast undeveloped resources with room for millions of tillers of the soil, and although we are prepared to contribute, as we should, towards the defence of the Empire, I think that instead of spending more money in this direction, than is necessary for what is termed police protection, we can to better advantage devote it to the development of our country.

Much has been said about the agitation in the British Empire for more armaments, and while we may properly deprecate the large expenditures that nations are now making in this direction, we must remember that Great Britain is not alone in this regard, and although she may be called a sinner, we must not overlook that she has, more than any other power, widely scattered interests to protect in every quarter of the globe.

The British Empire is a peaceful nation; has no desire for war; and in common with all right thinking nations wants peace.

The nightmare that nations are suffering from is a serious malady, it has spread, has become epidemic; it is, however, not incurable. Where is the earthly doctor that is able and in a position to prescribe the remedy and what will be the treatment? There will be no medicine required, and it will be common sense treatment. You have the doctor in the United States of America, in the person of your worthy President, the Hon. William H. Taft.

I think, Ladies and Gentlemen, the suggestion so ably given this morning by the Hon. J. Allen Baker, is a good one and I would like to see it acted upon; and while it has been proposed that the American Nation perform this good office, I do not altogether view it in the light of pulling other peoples' chestnuts out of the

fire, as it is of vital interest to all parties concerned, and if the United States will make the move, through your President, who has been referred to in this Conference, he will deserve the gratitude of mankind. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The conference is now open for general discussion under the five minute rule.

The Chair recognizes Mr. CHARLES B. MURRAY, Superintendent of the Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce.

REMARKS OF MR. C. B. MURRAY

Mr. Chairman: At the meeting to-day of the representatives of business organizations, after the action of that meeting already reported, there were adopted by unanimous vote some words which I have been delegated to bring to you with the greetings of that branch of this Conference and with the belief that the sentiments and thoughts embodied in the words that I shall read to you will find a response in every heart in this room.

The Conferences on International Arbitration, instituted and made possible by Albert K. Smiley and maintained by annual sessions for fifteen years, securing the assembling of large numbers of persons eminent in affairs and interests which concern humanity and progress of civilization, have been so widened in the scope of the work and influence of such efforts as to give distinct recognition of the business organizations of the country and of their power for promoting the great work which is being done for the world's peace through arbitration as a means for adjustment of international contentions. The representatives of the business organizations now assembled at this Conference take this occasion to express the belief that the forces thus brought into the humanitarian work by Mr. Smiley strengthen and will make stronger the movement which these Conferences represent, for the business organizations are based on the operations and necessities of industry and commerce, and this element in the affairs of men calls for the least possible disturbance of international relations. In offering this expression it is deemed proper to recognize in words the appreciation of the organizations here represented for the privilege and enjoyment of the opportunities of cooperating in the cause which has been so effectively promoted by Mr. Smiley, and to put on record our profound sense of gratification in knowledge that our country has a man with such power for the common good as he has with distinguished unselfishness introduced to his fellowmen throughout the world. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. W. A. BOURS, President of the Jacksonville, Florida, Board of Trade.

THE NEED OF PRACTICAL EDUCATION IN THE PEACE MOVEMENT

REMARKS OF MR. W. A. BOURS

Mr. Smiley, Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I wish first to thank Mr. Smiley for the generous hospitality he has accorded me and which I came over one thousand miles to accept. Governor Ansel of South Carolina brought greetings from Dixie. I bring you greeting from the southernmost state in Dixie, the land of flowers, where Ponce de Leon discovered the fountain of youth. I come as a business man representing the Jacksonville Board of Trade comprising over 600 members, and as I am not an orator, I trust you will bear with me for a few moments. I did not come to talk, but to listen and I have been treated to an intellectual and educational feast which has to me been very instructive. I wish to say that I am heartily in accord with the objects and principles of the Mohonk Conference, that I am a great believer in international arbitration, and trust the day is not far distant when an arbitration tribunal will be an accomplished fact. I think, however, our people, and especially the coming generation, should be educated along these lines.

I shall recommend to our Board of Trade the yearly appropriation of a cash prize to be given to our High School for the best essay on international arbitration, and if our commercial bodies throughout the country will take an interest in the cause in this way, I believe we can keep the matter before our people and that it will result in manufacturing public sentiment, which will greatly aid our movement. I esteem it a great privilege and honor that I have been able to take part in your deliberations and most heartily thank you. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair recognizes a distinguished guest from England, Rev. H. HENSLEY HENSON, Canon of Westminster Abbey.

PEACE AND PATRIOTISM

REMARKS OF REV. H. HENSLEY HENSON

Mr. Chairman: I should not have intruded myself even for a few moments on this assembly, if I did not feel it incumbent upon me, as a recipient of Mr. Smiley's most kindly hospitality, and also as a member of the English race, just to say one or two words.

I have listened to the very interesting debates in which again and again reference has been made to the state of opinion in my country, and I have observed with some regret, the disposition to assume that my fellow countrymen are in a bellicose and irrational

temper, endangering the peace of mankind. I do not believe that to be the case. Undoubtedly there is in Great Britain at this moment a widely extended and profound sense of anxiety. But that anxiety, be it well grounded or be it not, is not the creation of a yellow journalism, it is the result of most remarkable circumstances. A few weeks ago in the House of Commons the Prime Minister, the Foreign Secretary, the minister responsible for the navy, the leader of the opposition, almost every responsible statesman there delivered himself in terms of the utmost gravity as to the serious position in which Great Britain at this moment had been brought by the action of a neighboring power. I pass no judgment on that, but I entreat you to remember that there is no warlike feeling in any serious quarter in Great Britain; nothing beyond a profound, and, in circumstances we are compelled to assume, a reasonable anxiety lest our country shall be, by any neglect of ours, left in a position which no patriot could contemplate with equanimity.

I say that, and there is one thing more I want to say. I listened, with a certain admiration, but with very profound disagreement, to the speech which was made by the Rev. Mr. Lynch, in which he criticized very severely the attitude of the established Church and of the free churches in Great Britain on this subject of war. I do not think he read rightly the teachings of the New Testament. I do not believe that Jesus Christ, our Lord, desired to commit His disciples to the impossible ethics which he described this morning. I believe on the contrary that patriotism, carrying with it the high obligation of sacrifice, even to the sacrifice of life, is part and parcel of His claim upon His disciples, and I hold this, not because I believe that patriotism, like a keen sense of duty, affection for one's' own family, is a force inimical to the harmony of neighbors or the peace of man, but because it is the divinely appointed instrument by which men are interpreted to one another, I for one do earnestly and deeply regret that the advocates of international arbitration and peace commit themselves to such—I must use the word—impossible, such wild interpretations of Christian ethics as was suggested this morning.

My last word is this. If there is one thing which is handicapping and injuring in the public mind of Great Britain,—I say nothing of any other country,—the cause of those who advocate international arbitration and peace, it is the association of these sacred causes with irrational and irresponsible pronouncements. Do let us endeavor to separate this sacred cause from anything that is really irrational and indefensible. I do think we ought to be able securely to appeal to the sanity, to the common judgment, to the cool reason, to the patriotic sentiment of the nations, and we should not then be in danger of setting in opposition to our cause, the common sense of honest men. Science, literature,

commerce, Christianity—these all are great bonds binding the nations together. The one thing that we have to fight against is that these great and sacred forces making for peace should any one of them be twisted and bent into the service of some shadowy counterfeit. That patriotism, to take but a single example, should be debased into selfish imperialism, (we call it in England "jingoism," I think here it is called "spread eagleism," it has some name in Germany) is indeed deplorable. It is that kind of imperialism we have to direct our efforts against, not the kind of patriotism which is as much a part of human duty as private virtue itself. I have the distinguished honor of speaking to the Cadets at West Point next Sunday. I am not going to tell them that they ought to take off their coats and regard themselves as public murderers when they go to their duty. On the contrary, I am going to tell them that they have behind them not only the good feeling and pride of their fellow countrymen when they go to work, but they have the sanction, the highest of all sanction, the sanction of Him who is the Lord of nature and who gave them a country to love and serve. (Applause.)

Mr. GEORGE H. SUTTON, of Springfield, Mass.: Reference has been made to prize essays in the schools. For four years it has been the custom in the city of Springfield for the Board of Trade to offer a prize to its public schools, and this year we had thirty-five essays, most of them on subjects pertaining to international arbibtration. We have a member present here from the Springfield Board of Trade. He is a versatile speaker and we always like to hear from him. Dr. Moxom, I wish you would speak.

THE CHAIRMAN: Will Dr. MOXOM respond?

WHAT PRACTICAL EDUCATION CAN DO FOR PEACE

REMARKS OF REV. P. S. MOXOM, D. D.

Naturally, from Mr. Sutton's suggestion I should speak at once upon what the people of Springfield are doing to develop the sentiment of peace. But an overmastering impulse has seized me and I must first say something else.

No one deprecates more than I do extreme statements on any important question. And I deprecate harsh and extreme judgments on soldiers and sailors. I am proud to wear the button of a member of the Grand Army of the Republic and have certain memories which are very sacred, and I hear things some times which stir up pretty near all the old Adam there is in me—and that is a good deal. However, I am not going to talk about that. Let us clearly realize this—that the irrational thing of twenty years ago is profoundly rational to-day. The world has been moving fast. Fourteen years ago when some of us first came

to this Conference, we were a set of enthusiastic idealists, dreaming dreams, and men laughed at us. The common talk of the street was, "Men have always fought and they always will fight." The man who says that to-day is like the man of whom two men were speaking. One said, "He is not the man he used to be." "No," said the other, "and he never was!"

We have had experience in the past to know that there are certain psychological impulses which move a community. We have seen it in our own country and we have seen it in other countries. There are certain psychological impulses that move nations. Then come moments of supreme peril. It has seemed to many of us as if the home children of our beloved Mother Country and our honored and esteemed kindred in Germany, some of them, at least, were suffering now from such a psychological impulse. If certain sentiments of fear, anxiety and trepidation should prevail they might very easily flame into the beginnings of a conflict, the end of which no man can predict. I do not believe it will come. I believe in the sanity and righteousness of the English people; I believe in the sanity and righteousness of the German people. But it is well for us to remember that none of us are yet entirely beyond the possibility of a great peril, and the way to avoid it is to keep on steadily at this work of indoctrinating the people with the principles of good sense, of justice, and of good-will. Such work continued, in the schools, in the churches, in societies, and in Boards of Trade will make popular hysteria impossible and momentary nervous impulses harmless. (Applause.)

Now in Springfield we are prosecuting this work steadily year after year, in our schools, in our local societies and clubs, in our Board of Trade with its five hundred members, the leading business men of the city, and we are making such progress that to-day if a vote were taken on the question of arbitration in that city it would give an overwhelming majority, where twenty years ago the issue would have been doubtful. That change can be brought about in every city and town in our land. It can be brought about in every city and town in Europe, and when that is brought about the bogy of war will have disappeared save as it may appear in the form of police duty on the continually receding fringes of barbarism. When we have seen what has taken place in Turkey, despite all the horrors of massacre, we can have hope for the future and look forward with more confidence than ever to the time when the fruitage of this movement and kindred movements in England and Germany and France and other European nations, as well as America, will be gathered full and ripe from the trees whose leaves shall be for the healing of the nation. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Rev. S. E. EASTMAN, of Elmira, N. Y.

CHRISTIANITY AND PATRIOTISM

REMARKS OF REV. S. E. EASTMAN

Mr. Chairman: Shall we lower our ideals here on this floor? We are lowering our ideals if we think patriotism requires us to turn down the Sermon on the Mount. We are lowering our ideals if we think patriotism requires us to give the lie to the parable of the Good Samaritan, for the Jews and the Samaritans had no dealings with each other; the Jew called the Samaritan a dog and Jesus told us, "The dog Samaritan is your neighbor." Shall we think for a moment that the ethics of Jesus are lower than the ethics of Socrates? Socrates when they talked to him about patriotism and his home city, Athens, said, "Athens? I am a citizen of the world." Now, patriotism is a waning virtue in the light of the Sermon on the Mount. Patriotism is a waning virtue in the light of the parable of the Good Samaritan. Patriotism is a waning virtue in the light of the sage of Athens. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Hon. HIRAM R. STEELE, of New York.

INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION NOT DEPENDENT ON LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS

REMARKS OF HON. HIRAM R. STEELE

There seems to be a little difference of opinion and I could not sit still without saying a word.

Fifteen years ago when the first Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration met in these parlors and for some years thereafter, the suggestion that it was possible to change the habits of nations, so as to avoid war, was considered by the general public, aside from a very few, a wild dream and unworthy of serious consideration. This feeling was not due to any difference of opinion as to the desirability of such a result, but because it was considered wholly impracticable and contrary to the settled conviction based upon history, that man is a fighting animal and that wars are foreordained and bound to recur in the ordinary course of nature about so often, and that no human agency could prevent it.

I presume that many of you who attended these earlier conferences came here as I did myself, more because we found it delightful to enjoy the hospitality of Mr. Smiley and to meet the charming people he brings together, than because we really expected any great results to be accomplished. To-day the situation is very different, so that every civilized nation is now seriously considering the adoption of some plan by which international controversies may be settled without war; a permanent court has been

organized and a palace of justice is being erected at The Hague in which this court will sit to hear and determine causes between nations.

I am not discouraged by the fact that our own Government, as well as that of most nations, is making larger appropriations for military purposes than ever before, and I do not agree with the popular notion that this indicates we are not working in the direction of universal peace. The question is not whether nations are prepared for war if it should come, but it is rather, do the nations which control these great armaments stand for peace and can they be induced in good faith to join in treaties which will remove the necessity or excuse for war. I believe the demand for disarmament at this time is unwise and only tends to retard the cause we wish to advance. Wars will never cease simply because nations are powerless to resist or without the means to fight and such a demand is putting the cart before the horse. Partial disarmament may come as the result of peace, but never as a prelude to peace. It will come just in the proportion that the fear of war is removed. The nation which stands for peace and forbids war, but is known to have a powerful army and navy which could be used in case of emergency, will command greater respect and influence in the council of nations than one known to be powerless. We must deal with human nature as it exists and not as we would like to have it. The important work which these conferences have accomplished and which I trust they will continue, has been in educating public sentiment at home and abroad to understand that there is another and a better way to settle international controversies than by going to war.

The prudent advocate always considers the temper of the jury he wishes to convince and also remembers that the effect of a good argument is frequently destroyed by coupling with it a proposition which is considered untenable. Our jury in this case which we wish to convince is not only our own government and the American people, but the sovereigns and thinking people of the civilized world. No one can be more impressed with the horrors of war than I am, both from personal experience and knowledge of history, or more firmly convinced that universal peace is entirely possible and can be secured by proper treaties and concert of action among the great powers; still I do not believe that complete disarmament is even desirable. The time will never come short of the millennium when any hamlet in this land can safely dispense with some kind of force to preserve the peace and prevent crime. We maintain in New York City a fighting force of over six thousand men called the Metropolitan police, not for war, but for peace and for the same reason I believe it will always be found expedient and in the interests of peace for nations to maintain a military force. I am aware that this is a ques-

tion upon which there is great difference of opinion, and whether you agree with me or not as to the desirability of disarmament as an abstract proposition, I hope you will agree that it is not good policy to confuse the main question of International Arbitration by urging disarmament at this time. It seems to me much more important to direct our efforts to securing proper treaties.

While the arbitration treaties recently concluded in which our government has taken such an important part are a move in the right direction and perhaps the best that could be expected at the time, still I don't like the provisions excepting from arbitration questions involving national honor. I can hardly conceive of a war in which both sides would not claim that they were fighting for national honor, and I fear this exception may prove a loophole or excuse which in time of great public excitement might destroy the main purpose of the treaty. The Danish-Netherland Treaty which provides for reference to The Hague Court of all differences of whatever character not settled otherwise by peaceful means should be the model endorsed and urged by this conference. I would like to see this conference confine its efforts to this line of work, bringing every possible influence to the support of international arbitration and leave the question of disarmament and all other side issues for consideration later. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. DEXTER HUNTER, of Jacksonville, Florida.

AN INSTRUCTIVE INCIDENT

REMARKS OF MR. DEXTER HUNTER

Mr. President, Mr. Smiley, Ladies and Gentlemen: It seems to me that we could make good use of an arbitration court right here and now.

This suggestion has reference to the apparent conflict of sentiment between the two distinguished gentlemen who addressed us, the one this morning, the other this evening, and each of whom dwelt at some length, upon the general subject of hero-worship.

I am sure we all enjoyed and in a large measure sympathized with Dr. Lynch's eloquent plea for the abolition of war and for peace at almost any price, but it must have occurred to others, as it did to me, that his enthusiasm for the cause prompted him to allude to the memorials erected in the cathedrals and churches of England to the memory of their Soldiers and Sailors, in a way that, though I am only a sort of second cousin to all Englishmen, caused the blood to tingle in my veins and that was almost sure to call forth a spirited response from some one of England's loyal subjects.

And, ladies and gentlemen, this evening we have all heard that response and we now know better than ever before, the priceless

love with which England cherishes the memory of her departed heroes who consecrated their lives to the service of their country.

We have listened to Canon Hensley's stirring appeal in behalf of patriotism without regard to country, and for the time being have been all but carried off our feet by his eloquence and his earnestness. It may be that Canon Hensley's remarks were, in some measure, inspired by the state of feeling existing at the present time between his own country and Germany and which according to the Canon is far more acute than any intelligent American has heretofore believed to be the case. Imagine Canon Hensley making this same appeal to an assemblage of his own people under such conditions as he tells us prevail throughout England at the present time and tell me if you can, of what avail would be the efforts of a peace commission under such conditions.

Not even a company of railroad magnates, assembled to divide the country's traffic, and indulging in sentiments as extreme as those to which I have alluded would ever be able to arrive at a "gentlemen's agreement" in the world.

Seriously, my friends, does not this incident, trifling as it is, indicate in a peculiar way, what fallible creatures we all are, how even the wisest and best of men are at times swayed to and fro by their emotions and how far we have yet to travel before "Peace on earth, good-will to men" shall rule the world. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. EDWIN D. MEAD, of Boston.

ARMAMENTS NOT A MODERN MORAL FORCE

REMARKS OF MR. EDWIN D. MEAD

I should like to say, with reference to a statement of fact just made here, that it would be very unfortunate if the impression given by that statement should be allowed to remain in the minds of any present who may not be familiar with the history of The Hague Conferences. It was said that the nations at those Conferences carried their points or exerted influence in proportion to the physical force which it was known they had behind them. Those who are familiar with the proceedings and results of The Hague Conferences know that that is conspicuously untrue. Eminent delegates from Holland—from Belgium—Switzerland—Argentina—even little Luxemburg—in one very important matter, one of the delegates from Portugal—carried vastly greater weight than many representatives of great military powers. The names of Beernaert and Descamps, of Asser, Eyschen, Drago and De-Soveral are illustrious names in The Hague history. There was perhaps no single delegate in the second Conference who exercised greater influence than Barbosa of Brazil, who represented a nation practically without a navy. Let us never forget, especially

here at Mohonk, that when we have come to the state of civilization which the Hague Conferences represent, a nation carries influence there according to its moral power and the intellectual ability and real statesmanship of its delegates, and not according to the census of its guns. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. WILLIAM S. HARVEY, President of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum.

THE TRUE SOURCE OF NATIONAL GREATNESS

REMARKS OF MR. W. S. HARVEY

I very distinctly remember that when the United States exercised the greatest influence that it has ever exercised throughout the world, acting as a mediator between other countries, helping to adjust the differences as we have heard stated here, was when the United States only ranked fourth as a naval power. I contend that when the United States has man for man and gun for gun and ship for ship with other great powers we will then have ceased to be the great moral force and power that the United States has been in the past. Mr. Mead has truly said that moral force is greater than physical force and I think the results of the work that was started by this noble man here, Mr. Smiley, whom it is our privilege to honor, has been manifested to the entire world. I believe I am stating to you what is known to you as a fact, that the result of these meetings was the origin of the preparation of the minds of the people of the world that has given us The Hague Tribunal, and I believe, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Conference, that further results are yet to come and that we are to have a Court of Arbitration that will adjust all of these differences.

I think almost all of you are agreed with me when I contend that war is a relic of barbarism. What does our civilization amount to if we cannot rise superior to punching each other's heads? Speaking as one representing great commercial interests, I know that in all great commercial bodies throughout the world, there are Boards of Arbitration and Committees of Appeal and we adjust our differences by those committees in place of taking legal action against each other. This commercial spirit that we are condemned for having in the United States is going to be the spirit that will bring about peace in the world. Trade and commerce are interrupted by war and trade and commerce cannot be developed and extended except on the basis of confidence and respect. We listened last night to a representative of Germany, who stated that one of the reasons why Germany was increasing her armaments is because her foreign trade and colonial interests have increased so rapidly. It is a well-known fact that the German government appeals to the Reichstag for a large ap-

propriation for the navy because they need a great navy to protect their merchant marine throughout the world. Great Britain pleads the same excuse. The merchant marine of both Great Britain and Germany enable them to control international transportation, and by controlling international transportation, they control trade. Their merchant marine also supplements and multiplies the efficiency of their navy. The United States has no merchant marine. For years some of us have earnestly and vainly advocated in Washington that appropriations should be made for such a merchant marine. The sentiment which has been expressed here is the keynote, for we are contending that what we need in the United States is a business administration, that business customs, business practices and business methods shall prevail in the administration of the affairs of our great country and in our relation to other countries. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. HAMILTON HOLT, of New York, Managing Editor of *The Independent.*

PRACTICAL NEXT STEPS FOR PEACE

REMARKS OF MR. HAMILTON HOLT

Mr. Chairman: There are three kinds of peace societies. They all agree on the program of the development of international law, arbitration and mediation. They differ on the question of armaments. One type, such as the American Peace Society, believes in the limitation of armaments; another such as this Conference does not ordinarily even discuss the question of armaments; and the third such as The Peace and Arbitration League, one of whose distinguished vice-presidents is here to-night, argues that peace is brought about by the increase of armaments.

Now the society that wants to increase armaments is very much like Mr. Bernard Shaw, who said, "Nothing is ever done in this world until men are prepared to kill each other if it is not done." And the society that wants to decrease armaments, is very much like the man who was such a great general that he was called just plain Napoleon and not "Hell-roaring Jack" or "Fighting Bob," and who said, "The more I study history the more I am convinced of the inability of force to create anything durable." It seems to me from the debates here to-night that our Napoleons and Shaws, if they don't become calmer, will soon bring about "the peace that passeth all understanding."

There are one or two practical "next steps" to be taken in regard to this question of disarmament. First, we can adopt the suggestion made by Professor Kirchwey, in his splendid address the first morning we were here; namely, that the President of the United States be requested to call together the other Powers to

discuss the question of the limitation of armaments. Second, we can endorse the resolutions of the Chicago Peace Conference which called upon President Taft to appoint a commission of eminent men who should study the whole question, whose report should serve as a basis for the action of our delegation at the third Hague Conference. You all remember that the delegates at the first Hague Conference could do nothing with the question of disarmament; they referred it back to the nations. But the nations did nothing. When the second Hague Conference convened they brought up the question again, but again it was referred back to the governments, and again the governments have done nothing. It is the clear request, therefore, of both Hague Conferences that the governments should take up the question of disarmament, and if President Taft should appoint such a commission it is very possible that at the third Hague Conference something practical could be accomplished. If our government, however, as Prof. Kirchwey suggests, calls the other governments together, or a few of them, and they attempt to discuss the question of disarmament without previously having given it profound study, they will be in just the same position as they were at the Hague Conferences, and before they can do anything they will have to refer the question back to a commission for further study. So it seems advisable first to appoint a commission to study the question and then we will be able to call the nations together to do something practical, and I hope in the final resolutions of this Conference there will be a clause to this effect. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Dr. GEORGE EDWARD REED, President of Dickinson College.

THE CHURCHES AND INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION

REMARKS OF DR. GEORGE EDWARD REED

In the very remarkable address given by the Chinese Minister to the United States this morning, he used the expression quite a number of times, in discussing propositions, " There is another side," and he was quite sure to present the other side. I thought in one of the other addresses, a very interesting and eloquent address, too, to which we listened with pleasure, there was a chance for misapprehension as to the attitude of the Christian churches of this country with respect to the peace movement. With respect to many of the criticisms passed upon the attitude of various branches of the church I have nothing to say; but there seemed to be an intimation that the Christian churches of this country were lagging behind in this great movement, and that unless they be stirred, other organizations would come to the front.

The other side, to which I wish to refer in just a word or two is this; I happened to be a delegate to the great Council of the Christian Evangelical Churches of the United States, which recently met in the City of Philadelphia, a delegated body which represented not less than twelve millions of communicants, probably twenty million communicants and adherents. And the paper which had the most prominent place in the proceedings of the Council was a paper on the subject of International Arbitration read by the distinguished Henry W. Rogers, Dean of the School of Law of Yale University, which was received with tremendous applause and in which he advocated sentiments as pronounced for International Arbitration as have been heard here at Lake Mohonk. And, furthermore, that paper was unanimously adopted by that great Conference, representing thirty millions of the Christian population of this country. In the second place a committee was appointed to wait upon the President of the United States and to inform him of the sentiments of that great federated body. I think this is "another side" to that question which ought to have consideration here. (Applause.)

The Conference then adjourned until the following morning.

Fifth Session

Friday Morning, May 21, 1909

THE CHAIRMAN: The first business of the morning session is the presentation to the Conference of the Platform or declaration of principles drawn up by the Business Committee. The Chair recognizes Professor KIRCHWEY, Chairman of that Committee.

PRESENTATION OF THE PLATFORM

REMARKS OF DR. GEORGE W. KIRCHWEY

I will not say that this is the moment of the Conference for which the nations have been waiting—but it is certainly the moment for which the active members of the Conference have been waiting! While President Butler's performance has been going on here for your entertainment, and while even the clergy have slain one another to make a Roman holiday for you, the Committee on Declaration of Principles and the Business Committee have been engaged in preparing for this momentous occasion! The shallows murmur, but the deeps are dumb! (Laughter.) I now take great pleasure in submitting to you the fruit of the reflections of these committees on the international situation and on the duty of this Conference with respect thereto.

In so doing, may I venture to remind you of one or two facts which may in a way prepare your minds for the report of the Committee. No report could be submitted by the most omniscient of committees which would meet all the views, unless the minds of all were prepared to receive it. May I, then, remind you of the fact that the Lake Mohonk Conference is a progressive body dealing with the problems which may at any time properly come before it at those times when those problems become urgent and pressing or when they require to be dealt with by the Conference. We do not deem it necessary to plan the course of international events for centuries to come. It is true that we do not fear to give expression to an aspiration, to a hope from time to time, but in formulating our views we seek from year to year to conform them to the actual international situation. So if we appear to some of you to lag behind on some occasions and to display a certain degree of inconsistency because we assume a more advanced attitude on other occasions, turn your eyes on the international situation and see if you do not there find a justification for that apparent change of position. It indicates not a change of position, not an altered attitude, but it indicates that the

eyes of the Conference are open and that we conform our declaration of principles to the new situation of affairs.

The Platform submitted by the Committee is as follows:

(For a copy of the Platform, see page 7.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Professor Kirchwey, on behalf of the Business Committee, submits the declaration which has been read and moves its adoption as the official utterance of this Conference. The Chair recognizes Hon. WILLIAM I. BUCHANAN to speak to that motion.

SOME ESSENTIALS OF INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION

REMARKS OF HON. WILLIAM I. BUCHANAN

On Tuesday evening I ventured with considerable hesitancy to suggest the advantages I believed would be secured for the cause of arbitration and the peaceful settlement of international disputes if all of us would adjust our individual attitude toward such questions to a calm, dispassionate and conservative temperature where our interests as a government were in some way related to the matter in dispute.

It is a great pleasure for me to cordially second Prof. Kirchwey's motion to ratify the declarations presented to the Conference, since it seems to me they represent exactly the attitude I ventured to suggest on Tuesday evening. It has been my fortune to have had a modest and small part in a practical way in connection with the actual application of arbitration, and I may say that so far as my knowledge goes I know of no treaty of arbitration, nor of any protocol providing for arbitration that was ever signed between any two nations as a result of intemperate speech or invective or of anything other than the courteous and kindly comity and friendship that one would expect to find between two neighbors, or between two sensible persons attempting to adjust some difference that had arisen between them; hence I feel that it is well to keep in mind on every occasion the necessity of approaching the subject of arbitration with composure and without passion, and with a willingness to admit the bare possibility that wisdom may not die with us and that we may not have all the right on our side.

There are those who feel that some way must be found by which those who are peaceably inclined can impose peace upon others. Well, there are two ways through which it can be done—one way probably occurs to all of you at once and that is by the imposition of force of some sort; the other way is by the exercise of that same great patience which our individual shortcomings frequently impose on our families in order that we may all live in

some semblance of courteous dealing and association with those about us.

I believe that at times the use of a word in connection with such a subject as arbitration is liable to mislead those not familiar with the matter. For that reason I object to the use of the word *compulsory* in connection with the word arbitration. All arbitration agreements, no matter what their scope, their purpose, the extent to which they go, or the subject they cover, must be and are in their essence voluntary acts requiring the voluntary action of a country in their ratification or else you can have no such treaty or agreement unless it is made as the result of the use of physical force.

The term *obligatory* as applied to arbitration grew out of the broad arbitration treaties signed between Latin American countries in which there was a much more extended scope than had ever before taken place in such agreements, hence the term *obligatory* came to be applied because the contract obliged the parties to submit certain specific things to arbitration without reservations.

You will all remember that within a very short time back one of the most distinguished advocates of arbitration suggested the possibility that the time may have been reached when it was not only desirable but almost necessary to consider whether or not nations should not join in a peace league and impose peace upon other nations. To my mind the difference between that and a declaration of war would be largely a matter of nomenclature. If I understand it, the position of the government of the United States with regard to arbitration is that we seek in no way nor in any manner whatever to impose arbitration upon any other government. If we can induce another nation with which we have a dispute to agree with us that arbitration is the wise, the most temperate and the most satisfactory course to take we certainly try to do so. May I illustrate this with one case that I have recently had to deal with, as it will serve to illustrate the point I have in mind.

For the past eight or ten years the United States has had a more or less extended and at times rather acrimonious correspondence with the Government at whose head General Castro stood. I am quite sure that numbers of people have reached the conclusion that all of Venezuela and all Venezuelans were personified by the head of that State. Ill health caused General Castro to take a journey and to leave others in authority. Those who were left in authority immediately proposed to the United States and to other countries with which differences had existed that they would be delighted to have an opportunity to consider in what manner these differences might be adjusted. In response I was sent to Caracas as a Commissioner representing the President

to see what could be done with regard to the long-standing disputes we had had with General Castro. I met with the most delightful courtesy with a warm welcome on the part of the Government; no obstacles whatever were placed in the way of a friendly settlement and although the distinguished Minister of Foreign Affairs and myself occupied twenty-seven days with sometimes two conferences a day, before we reached the detailed protocol we afterwards signed, there was never during any of those conferences a moment in which there was anything other than the most pleasant and delightful relations.

I have made use of this illustration to bring to your attention the fact that the subject for which this Conference stands, that of the peaceful adjustment of international disputes by arbitration, can never be advantageously furthered by anything in the shape of intemperate, unfair or unpleasant suggestions on the part of a country concerned.

There are international questions for which it is impossible for any of us to-day to devise a solution that would be accepted by both parties. I have in mind one such case, one that has been in existence for eighteen years, and I venture the assertion that there is no man who could to-day suggest a plan of settlement that would meet the acceptance of the two sides. The thing that helps all of us through our troubles will in the end adjust this one, and that is, time and the exercise of patience and the avoidance of intemperate speech. So that I come back to the foundation of my argument, that international arbitration can be best brought about and aided by an increasingly educated public opinion and through the application of the most commonsense sort of patience and fairness that we can devise or implant within ourselves respecting our attitude toward this great subject as it comes into our spheres of life.

It is for the reason that this Platform represents, I believe, this attitude toward the matters that have been discussed here that I endorse it heartily and second the motion that it shall be adopted by the Conference. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Hon. SIMEON E. BALDWIN, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Connecticut, is recognized.

REMARKS OF HON. SIMEON E. BALDWIN

Only a word, and it is this, to say that this platform is to be especially recommended for two things—for what it says and for what it does not say.

As has been indicated by the Chairman of the Committee this is a body composed of men and women of very different views on some subjects. There are many here who believe that war is always a crime; there are others here who believe that war is

often justified by its causes and justified by its results. Those of both views can heartily accept this platform. There is an old maxim, Mr. President, once familiar to everybody *inter arma leges silent*—amid arms, laws are silent. This decade of years whose close we celebrate is endeavoring to substitute for that maxim, *inter leges arma silent*—where laws prevail arms are silent! (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Is there further discussion of the platform? If not, the question before the Conference is on the adoption of the motion made by the Chairman of the Business Committee that the platform be adopted by the Conference as its own declaration. Are you ready for the question? So many as favor its adoption will say aye. Contrary minded. It is a unanimous vote and the platform is adopted.

The Chair now has the pleasure and honor of presenting to the Conference to read the report of the Committee on Colleges and Universities the dean of American diplomats and the senior savant of American scholarship, Dr. ANDREW D. WHITE.

THE COLLEGES AND INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION

ADDRESS OF HON. ANDREW D. WHITE

Mr. Chairman: The duty intrusted to me this morning is very simple. It is to read the brief report of the committee which has just been mentioned.

But before that is done, it would seem but just to say a few words regarding the man who, humanly speaking, ought to be presenting this report this morning, but who is no longer with us;—the man who first moved the creation of the committee which has drawn the report; the man who, from his college days, as I can well remember, fifty-five years ago, has been a center of every sort of good effort in the United States, president of two universities, president of the Carnegie Institution, president and chairman of no end of societies having as their purpose the good of his fellowmen; always effective in every philanthropic work. always a blessing in whatever community he happened to live—whether on the Atlantic or Pacific coast—the late Dr. Daniel Coit Gilman. (Applause.)

Meeting him as I did in our college days, thrown much into the same pursuits afterwards, going abroad together, first as Legation *attachés* to Russia, later as fellow students at Berlin, meeting at various times in work, he at Johns Hopkins, I at Cornell, constantly taking counsel with each other, and at last sitting together, thanks to President Cleveland, in the Venezuelan commission of

1895, his work was well known to me and it was especially valuable. In this latter duty it was preëminently so, for to him was very largely due that collection of geographical material which was afterward of so much use to the Arbitration Commission at Paris in making their final decision between Venezuela and Great Britain. I might allude to many other features in his life, but this last-named work is most closely connected with that which he had most deeply at heart—the success of arbitration as the harbinger of peace among men. I do not think that he favored *compulsory* arbitration—he probably thought that this would arouse international enmities more bitter and necessitate armies more oppressive than any the world suffers from at present. He clearly supported arbitration in obedience to a public opinion more earnestly held and to right reason more widely diffused.

The report is as follows:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES TO THE FIFTEENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION.

The Committee appointed to bring the subject of international arbitration to the attention of colleges and universities and to urge upon them the importance of informing their students concerning the principal facts of the international arbitration and peace movement has carried on its work during the past year. as in former years, through the Corresponding Secretary of the Conference, Mr. H. C. Phillips, who has conducted the correspondence. Personal letters have been sent by him to the presidents of all the colleges and universities, and followed by extensive correspondence with over two hundred institutions which have responded. During the year, one hundred and thirty-two institutions have taken some definite action, thirty-three have pledged themselves to action next year, and about thirty-five have expressed themselves as favorable to the movement and disposed to consider future action.

The principal form of activity may for convenience be termed the " special occasion "; that is, some time set apart once or more during the year for an address or addresses by speakers from without the institution, by members of the faculty or by students. The majority of these have been in the form of mass meetings and most of the remainder lectures at regular convocation periods or addresses at chapel exercises. In this year alone, ninety-one institutions have held or are planning to hold such occasions. Thirty-three have made use of public debates, oratorical contests or literary society programs, for the same purpose, and eight have offered prizes for the best essays or orations on the subject of international arbitration.

Since the inception of this movement in the year 1905-6, one hundred and forty-five institutions have held one or more of these special occasions. Sixty have held debates or oratorical contests and eleven have made use of special prizes. In all, two hundred and seventy-seven institutions, or about two-thirds of the entire number have been heard from. Only sixteen have declined to act, and these not on account of the principle involved but because of local conditions making action either unnecessary or impracticable.

The methods named are but a few of many excellent ones. Among the others are the establishment of a special calendar day known in some colleges as "Peace Day"* and in others "Arbitration Day."* A number of colleges have established local peace societies under student control, and at least one institution† has completed plans and is expecting soon to establish a Chair of Peace and Public Service.

It is significant that the active institutions include a large proportion of the great universities and that in many of these one or more special occasions have been held each year since 1905. A list of institutions with notes concerning the action of each is appended to this report.

The foregoing statistics do not include unless by accident the participation of colleges and universities in the state and interstate contests under the auspices of the Intercollegiate Peace Society which during the past year has stimulated activity in thirty-seven institutions within the states of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Michigan and Wisconsin, distributing about $600 in prizes.

The prize of $50 given last year by Mr. Chester DeWitt Pugsley, a Harvard student, and offered by the Mohonk Conference for the best essay on international arbitration by an undergraduate student of any American college or university has been awarded by the judges to Mr. L. B. Bobbitt of Baltimore, a student in the sophomore class of Johns Hopkins University. The presentation of the prize to Mr. Bobbitt will take place at this meeting. Fifty essays were submitted by students representing thirty-nine colleges, and most of these were able presentations of the subject. The contest excited much interest and led to numerous expressions of hope that a similar prize or prizes might be offered yearly. In fulfillment of this hope, Mr. Pugsley has offered a similar prize of $100 for the coming academic year.

Another suggestion very generally made by the colleges is that the Conference provide a lecturer available during some part of the academic year for addresses at different institutions. Many colleges of limited resources and unable to defray the expense of bringing a speaker from a distance have indicated a decided willingness to provide occasions for addresses by such a lecturer.

(*"Peace Day" was first established by Lombard College, and "Arbitration Day" by the College of the City of New York.—Ed.

†Dickinson College.

In view of the increase in the number of active colleges and universities and of the general interest manifested by them, the Committee feel assured that these institutions will play an increasing part in the international arbitration movement and that everything possible should be done to encourage and assist them to that end.

BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER, Chairman,
E. A. ALDERMAN,
JAMES B. ANGELL,
SETH LOW,
L. CLARK SEELYE,
ANDREW D. WHITE,
Committee.

LIST OF COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES CO-OPERATING WITH THE LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE

The following list purports to show roughly the activity of the institutions named beginning with the academic year 1905-6 and ending with the academic year 1908-9. The * indicates a "special occasion" as defined in the foregoing report; the † a debate; the ° the offering of a prize; and the ‡ a pledge of action in the year 1909-10. Reference marks repeated after a college indicate the number of such occasions held during the four years. Institutions not specially marked have declared their approval of the movement and their intention of taking some action as early as practicable.

It is believed that many active institutions are omitted from the list for lack of definite information, and it is especially requested that any college or university not receiving full credit will notify the Corresponding Secretary of the Conference.

Adelphi College, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Adrian College, Adrian, Mich.
Agricultural College of Utah**†
Alabama Polytechnic Institute
Albany College, Albany, Oregon*
Albright College, Myerstown, Pa.*
Alfred University, Alfred, N. Y.*
Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa.
Alma College, Alma, Mich.*†
American University, Washington, D. C.
Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. °°°°
Amity College, College Springs, Ia.††
Antioch College, Yellow Springs, O.*†
Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga. ****
Auburn Theological Seminary, Auburn, N. Y.*
Augustana College, Rock Island, Ill.
Baker University, Baldwin, Kan.*
Bates College, Lewiston, Me.*°°°°
Baylor University, Waco, Tex.**
Bellevue College, Bellevue, Neb.
Benedict College, Columbia, S. C.‡
Berea College, Berea, Ky.*
Bethel College, Russellville, Ky.
Boston University, Boston, Mass.*
Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me. *†††°
Brigham Young College, Logan, Utah**
Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute, Brooklyn, N. Y.‡
Brown University, Providence, R. I.*°°°°
Buchtel College, Akron, O.**
Canisius College, Buffalo, N. Y.††
Carson & Newman College, Jefferson City, Tenn.†
Carthage College, Carthage, Ill.†
Case School of Applied Science, Cleveland, O.*
Central College, Fayette, Mo.
Central University of Kentucky‡

Clark College, Worcester, Mass.*
Clark University, S. Atlanta, Ga.
Clarkson School of Technology, Potsdam, N. Y.°
Clemson College, Clemson College, S. C.
Coe College, Cedar Rapids, Ia.‡
Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y.
College of City of New York**
College of Holy Cross, Worcester, Mass.
Colorado College, Colorado Springs, Col.***
Columbia University, New York**
Cornell College, Mt. Vernon, Ia.**
Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.‡
Dakota Wesleyan University, Mitchell, S. Dak.*
Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.*
Davidson College, Davidson, N. C.
Denison University, Granville, O.†
DePauw University, Greencastle, Ind.***†
Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa.*
Drake University, Des Moines, Ia.**
Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J.
Drury College, Springfield, Mo.‡
Earlham College, Richmond, Ind. ***†††
Emory & Henry College, Emory, Va.*
Emporia College, Emporia, Kan.‡
Erskine College, Due West, S. C.
Eureka College, Eureka, Ill.**†
Ewing College, Ewing, Ill.‡
Fargo College, Fargo, N. Dak.‡
Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.*
Fordham University, New York City‡
Franklin & Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa.†
Franklin College, New Athens, O.*
Furman University, Greenville, S. C.†††
General Theological Seminary, New York City*
Georgetown University, Washington, D. C.
George Washington University, Washington, D. C.*†
Greensboro Female College, Greensboro, N. C.*
Guilford College, Guilford College, N. C.*
Hampden-Sidney College, Hampden-Sidney, Va.‡
Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va.
Hanover College, Hanover, Ind.*†
Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn.*
Haverford College, Haverford, Pa. °°°
Heidelburg University, Tiffin, O.‡
Henry Kendall College, Tulsa, Okla.
Hillsdale College, Hillsdale, Mich. *†
Hiram College, Hiram, O.‡
Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y.
Holy Cross College, Worcester, Mass.†
Hope College, Holland, Mich.‡
Howard University, Washington, D. C.**
Illinois College†
Illinois Wesleyan University
Indian University, Bacone, Okla.
Indiana University†
Iowa Christian College.‡
Iowa College*
Iowa State College†
Iowa Wesleyan University‡
Jacob Tome Institute, Baltimore, Md.
James Milliken University, Decatur, Ill.†
John B. Stetson University, DeLand, Fla.
Johns Hopkins University*†
Juniata College, Huntingdon, Pa. **†
Kenyon College, Gambier, O.†
Knox College, Galesburg, Ill.‡
Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.**†
Lake Erie College, Painesville, O.‡
Lake Forest College, Lake Forest, Ill.*
Lawrence University, Appleton, Wis.*
Leander Clark College, Toledo, Iowa*
Lebanon University, Lebanon, O.*
Lehigh University, S. Bethlehem, Pa.*
Leland University, New Orleans, La.‡
Leland Stanford Jr. University, Cal.**
Lenox College, Hopkinton, Iowa*
Lincoln Memorial University, Cumberland Gap, Tenn.‡
Lombard College, Galesburg, Ill, **††

Macalester College, St. Paul, Minn.*
McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago, Ill.
McKendree College, Lebanon, Ill.‡
McMinnville College, McMinnville, Ore.‡
Manhattan College, New York City
Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wis.††
Maryville College, Maryville, Tenn.†
Massachusetts Agricultural College, Amherst, Mass.***
Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston, Mass.‡
Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vt.*
Midland College, Atchison, Kan.††
Milligan College, Milligan, Tenn.*
Mills College, Seminary Park, Cal.
Milwaukee-Downer College, Milwaukee, Wis.*
Moores Hill College, Moores Hill, Ind.*
Morris Brown College, Atlanta, Ga.
Mount Holyoke College, S. Hadley, Mass.***
Mount Morris College, Mount Morris, Ill.†
Muhlenberg College, Allentown, Pa.*†
Muskingum College, New Concord, O.‡
Newberry College, Newberry, S. C.*
Newton Theological Seminary, Newton Center, Mass.*
Normal College of the City of New York‡
Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.**
Norwich University, Northfield, Vt.****
Oberlin College, Oberlin, O.*
Occidental College, Los Angeles, Cal.***
Ohio State University***
Ohio University*
Ohio Wesleyan University†°
Olivet College, Olivet, Mich.*†
Oregon Agricultural College
Oriental University, Alexandria, Va.
Ottawa University, Ottawa, Kan.
Ouachita College, Arkadelphia, Ark.†
Pacific University, Forest Grove, Ore.‡
Park College, Parkville, O.*
Parker College, Winnebago, Minn.
Penn College, Oskaloosa, Iowa*
Pennsylvania College
Pennsylvania College for Women*
Pennsylvania Military College
Pennsylvania State College*†
Pomona College, Claremont, Cal.*
Potomac University, Washington, D. C.
Purdue University, Lafayette, Ind.*†
Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Mass.**
Randolph-Macon College, Lynchburg, Va.*†
Ripon College, Ripon, Wis.‡
Roanoke College, Salem, Va.†
Rochester Theological Seminary, Rochester, N. Y.**
Rockford College, Rockford, Ill.*
Rock Hill College, Ellicott City, Md.
Rollins College, Winter Park, Fla. **
St. John's College, Annapolis, Md.
St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minn.‡
St. Louis University, St. Louis, Mo.††
Shaw University, Raleigh, N. C.**
Shurtleff College, Upper Alton, Ill.*†
Simpson College, Indianola, Iowa
Smith College, Northampton, Mass.****
Southern University, Greensboro, Ala.‡
State College of Washington*
State University of Iowa****
State University of Kentucky***
State University of N. Dakota**†
Susquehanna University, Selinsgrove, Pa.
Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.***
Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y.**
Tabor College, Tabor, Iowa*
Talladega College, Talladega, Ala. **°
Tarkio College, Tarkio, Mo.*
Taylor University, Upland, Ind.
Teachers' College, New York City**
Temple University, Philadelphia, Pa.*†

Texas Christian University*†
Throop Polytechnic Institute, Pasadena, Cal.*
Transylvania University, Lexington, Ky.*
Trinity University, Waxahachie, Tex.‡
Tuskegee College, Tuskegee, Ala.
°°°°
Union College, College View, Neb.‡
Union College, Schenectady. N. Y.‡
Union Theological Seminary, New York City
Union University, Jackson, Tenn.*
University of Alabama
University of Arizona‡
University of California****
University of Chattanooga, Chattanooga, Tenn.†
University of Chicago***
University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O.**
University of Colorado*
University of Georgia*
University of Idaho*°
University of Illinois***
University of Kansas**
University of Maine*
University of Michigan*
University of Minnesota**†
University of Missouri**
University of Montana*
University of Nebraska**
University of Nevada***
University of North Carolina*†
University of Oklahoma†
University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Ind.*††
University of Oregon**†††
University of Pennsylvania*
University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.****
University of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y.*†
University of South Dakota
University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn.††
University of Southern California*†
University of Utah***
University of Vermont*°°°°
University of Virginia
University of Washington***
University of Wisconsin*
University of Wooster, Wooster, O.**
University of Wyoming*
Valparaiso University, Valparaiso, Ind.
Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.†††
Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.**
Virginia Christian College*
Wake Forest College, Wake Forest, N. C.†
Washburn College, Topeka, Kan.*
Washington College, Chestertown, Md.*†
Washington College, Washington, Tenn.
Washington & Lee University, Lexington, Va.
Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.***
Wells College, Aurora, N. Y.**
Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.*
Western College for Women, Oxford, O.
Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.*†
West Lafayette College, West Lafayette, O.**
Westminster College, Fulton, Mo.
Westminster College, New Wilmington, Pa.*
West Virginia University*
Wheaton College, Wheaton, Ill.**†
Whitman College, Walla Walla, Wash.*
Whitworth College, Tacoma, Wash.
Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, O.**
Wiley University, Marshall, Tex.*
Willamette University, Salem, Ore.‡
William Jewell College, Liberty, Mo.†
Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.*
Wofford College, Spartanburg, S. C.††
Woman's College, Baltimore, Md.*
York College, York, Neb.*

Having read the report Mr. WHITE spoke as follows:

I may supplement this report by adding that there has also been made by Mr. John R. Lindgren, Swedish Consul at Chicago, a gift of $25,000 to Northwestern University, to be spent in the

college and university field for the promotion of the cause of international peace. It is hoped this will inspire similar donations elsewhere.

Though the report ends here, I cannot submit it without mentioning the fact that to the available literature on the subject there has been pledged during the present year a most interesting, and, as I think, in the long run, an exceedingly valuable contribution by the Carnegie Institution of Research at Washington. It has decided to publish a series of the great classics of International Law, books like those of Ayala, Gentilis, Grotius, Vatel and others, many of which are now very difficult to find, some of which are so rare that it is almost impossible to find them, and it is the intention to have them carefully translated, well printed and a copy of the whole set put into the library of each important college and university of the United States. And I am happy to say that the Carnegie Institution has placed in charge of this publication our colleague and friend, Mr. James Brown Scott, of Washington. (Applause.)

I will only add that I hope it will strike many here as it strikes me that the American colleges and universities furnish to us the most promising field this Conference has to cultivate at the present moment. When you consider the amazing growth of the American colleges and universities, and couple with this the fact that they are now more than ever taking hold of current questions and subjects which lead directly up to current questions, you will see that never was there so good a time as this for investing any spare money that any of you may have in the aid of the nearest college or university endeavoring to till this field.

I remember well that when my dear friend, Gilman, and myself entered for the first time the Yale College chapel, we were both of us somewhat overcome by the vast number of students there brought together—five hundred young men. But at the present time, in each of the principal state universities of the West, and at Harvard, at Yale, at Princeton, at Cornell, and at a number of other American institutions of learning the numbers of students range from two or three thousand to six thousand, in regular attendance, most of them devoted to good and earnest work. They are the men who are to make largely the future of this country as regards public opinion. They are the men, and, I may add, the women, who are to go into all the communities of the United States and settle what public opinion is to be. And public opinion, more than armies or navies, is to control this question.

And one thing more. I beg of you to heed the counsels given us from time to time by Mr. Smiley. Some of the early speakers in their enthusiam almost carried us away; they seemed to think that the question of arbitration had now become a question of the past—that it is settled—that we must now leave it and move on to

other questions. I should say, keep the other questions before you as ideals, but stand fast at every meeting for arbitration. It is not so easily obtained. There are many of the same men and the same women who applaud most heartily eloquent speeches in behalf of arbitration to-day who would applaud an eloquent speech for a war to-morrow! We want to work this idea of arbitration into the very warp and woof of American thought and we want to keep on doing it and there is no better way than through the colleges and the universities of this land.

In the century before the last, probably the best, the most beloved, the noblest of men, was Emperor Joseph II of Germany. Never was there a man with higher ideals, never a monarch who tried more earnestly to do good to his subjects. He had, theoretically, unlimited power throughout his vast empire and he endeavored to use it largely for the betterment of his people and of the world. He failed utterly. Everybody resisted him—even the men whom he was most clearly benefiting thwarted him and he died of a broken heart. That cool, cynical contemporary of his, Frederick the Great, said, "Joseph is a good man, but he always takes the second step before he takes the first." It was quite likely this judgment that led Bismarck to say again and again in regard to his own career from first to last (which, by the way, I do not hold up to you as a model in a Peace Conference), that he always looked around in the slump and morass of human affairs to find some one stone on which he could put one foot and that then he stood and looked around again to find another stone on which he could put his other foot. That is the spirit which, it seems to me, should actuate us here. Let us plant both feet firmly on arbitration and later, when this is fully and finally established and guarded, move on to other conquests. I think that this report gives you a clue to one of the most important means, if not the most important, of advancing this great cause which we all have so deeply and so dearly at heart—namely, steady work in our universities, colleges and schools. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Our next speaker is the President of Brown University, Dr. W. H. P. FAUNCE.

HOW WE MAY EDUCATE FOR PEACE

ADDRESS OF DR. W. H. P. FAUNCE

Mr. Chairman: The report just presented, so luminous, so cogent, and followed by such a helpful statement, out of large experience, seems to render comment needless. The business men in this Conference have spoken, and spoken so that we shall not forget; this morning the schoolmaster has his innings. Tennyson tells us that "the baby, new to earth and sky, first learns the use of *I* and *me*,"—"so rounds he to a separate soul." But if the

child is to be educated at all he must pass beyond the use of "I" and "me" into the use of "we" and "us," and must realize that he is not only a separate soul but is a member of a genuine social organization.

So with the nation. First it must realize its own entity, its own independence; then it must pass on, if it is worthy the name of civilized, to realize its interdependence, to recognize itself one of the family of nations. The New Testament bids us "when ye pray, say Our." A very large part of modern progress consists in that learning to say Our, and we are learning it as the last generation never did learn it. We are learning it in education,—and the little red schoolhouse isolated among the hills is part of *our* system of education. We are learning to say it in charity; and the street urchin, homeless and nameless, is after all *our* boy. We are learning to say it in manufacture; the single firm that puts up impure food is providing *our* food, which feeds *our* family, and *our* little children. We are learning to say our in times of national calamity; when San Francisco suffers from unprecedented earthquake and conflagration, it is our earthquake and our burden to bear. And when a little later California threatens a sensitive and honorable and powerful nation with war, it is our threat and our responsibility, which we all have to bear. As the nation thinks in its heart so is the nation, and it is the province of the schoolmaster and of all who believe in schools and have anything to do with schools to lodge in the heart of the nation certain leading ideas. For the object of education is surely not to give skill in some trade or vocation, however, useful it may be; it is not to impart a superficial veneer of culture, however that thought may have prevailed in the past; it is to lodge in the mind of the rising generation certain leading ideas and ideals, from which that generation subsequently will not be able to get away.

What are some of the things we are trying to lodge in the heart of the young people of our time, from the kindergarten up to the graduate school or university? Ideas quite familiar to us it may be, but yet unrecognized, or at least inoperative, in large sections of the life of the world. We are surely to teach the young people the futility and stupidity of draining away the best brain and blood of the nation into war, when that brain and that blood are so vitally needed for the constructive tasks of civilization. We all believe that some wars are necessary; we all believe that some are justified. We have said it every year in this Conference. We also know that nine-tenths of all the wars of the past and present have sprung from the irascibility and childish petulance of nations, still in intellectual and moral infancy. Elihu Root has spoken many golden words in the last twenty years; no mind has been more influential in the guidance of our thoughtful people. But one of his most memorable utterances has been made

recently when he said: "The least of the causes of war is injustice; it is insult, contemptuous conduct, bad manners, the arrogant and provincial assumption of superiority—these are the causes of war in our time." I met a friend of mine in New York recently, who had been brought up elsewhere. He said he could not understand why the people in New York and New England when injured call in the policeman, if a burglar breaks into the house; or why when a man ruins us in business we call on the courts to defend us. He said no brave man would appeal to the police and the courts, when he was able to strike a blow and avenge an insult. That is simply bravado masquerading as the highest type of civilization—caprice pretending to be the incarnation of justice. When a man sets himself up as judge and jury, jailor and executioner, on his own behalf, we know it is because he dare not submit this quarrel to his peers. When a nation sets out to administer justice on its own behalf, regardless of the judgment of civilization, it knows at heart it has not its quarrel just. Hazing has been laughed out of our best American colleges, not because it was forbidden by the authorities—prohibition didn't seem to do any good—not because the preacher said it was wrong, but because the students themselves have come to see how senseless and brutal it is for a dozen strong upper classmen to try to torment a single freshman. Duelling has been laughed out of English-speaking nations, not because of statute law, or the Ten Commandments, or the Sermon on the Mount, but because men have seen how stupid and senseless it is to say that justice is achieved by discharge of pistols or the lunge of swords. We used to have at Brown University a bust of Francis Wayland, carved by Thomas Ball; around the base of the bust is the inscription, "F. Wayland—executed by T. Ball." I have often thought that the men who are trying to dignify and exalt the prestige of modern nations through warfare are maiming, if not "executing," those they would exalt and advance.

Another idea that we can inculcate in all the schools, from the lowest to the highest, is that the "ferocious interpretation of nature," on which a false ethical code has been based, was due to a partial reading of nature, for which there is no longer any warrant or excuse. I was taught in childhood that the law of struggle was the highest law that creation knows; that every wayside pool was the scene of battle; that the ocean was the scene of a struggle, which might the "multitudinous seas incarnadine," and the law of life everywhere a battle in which no quarter was given. Of course there is truth in that, but now we are coming to see it is only one side of the process, only a phase of the law, and that deeper and more fundamental than any competition is the law of coöperation through all the orders of the world. Any species of birds that will not fly together as

they fly South, shall all lose their way; any flock of sheep that cannot stand together in a winter's storm, all perish. Any utterly selfish species must die out as the world unfolds and develops; and deeper than any possible battle of group with group is the law that the group that will not stand together and stand with other groups shall ultimately lose its chance in the unfolding, cosmic order. I believe we must teach that the laws of ethics are of universal, and not of local and provincial application; that the law which binds man to man is in the last analysis identical with that which binds kingdom to kingdom, state to state, race to race. The law which prevails in a little province only is no law whatever. The law which seems to prevail in a drop of water and not in the solar system is a law which is not understood; but when we do understand it, we find it absolutely without exception and universal. Chesterton, in one of those paradoxes which have set our generation thinking, has said: "When you break the great laws, you do not get freedom, you do not even get anarchy, you simply get the small laws." I believe that is profoundly true in international relations. When a nation breaks the great law of international concord, of human brotherhood, of racial amity, it simply comes under the dominion of the small laws of shot and shell, of increase of armor, of increased burden of taxation. Having appealed away from brotherhood unto Caesar, unto Caesar it shall go; having resolved to rely on the defence of Napoleon, to Napoleon it shall go, and with Napoleon it shall end. We have our choice between adhering to the great laws which antedate and surpass all individual and local need, and simply appealing to the smaller laws which in turn will impose the heaviest possible burden. In view of the disturbance among some foreign nations I would suggest that what we need is a little mental healing, psychotherapy on an international scale. A parade of the engines of war by land or sea is the most effective form of suggestion—the ostentatious pageantry of war simply suggests to the minds of the rising generation an imagery which must develop into action by and by. But to fill the minds of the rising generation with images of the plow, the loom, the printing press, the school and the home, is to do something to ring out the thousand wars of old and ring in the thousand years of peace!

I hope then, in conclusion, that you will not think that the "educators" are only those that speak here this morning, or those who may have superfluous initials after their names, or be entitled to an immense amount of millinery on Commencement Day. Every one of you is an educator somewhere, in some business men's league, in some school, some church and congregation, in some village community.

A medieval monk was laughed at because he persisted in walk-

ing in his little garden when it was so narrow. And they said, "How can you find satisfaction there?" He replied, "It is true, it is not so very long, and not so very wide—but it is wondrous high, and I enjoy it." May everyone of you be able to see that although your sphere may not be very broad, it may be wondrous high, and help to lift some portion of the world to new heights of sanity and enduring peace. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: We are now to hear from the President of the great University of Chicago, Dr. HARRY PRATT JUDSON.

THE LOCALIZATION OF THE DISTURBANCES CAUSED BY WAR

ADDRESS OF DR. HARRY PRATT JUDSON

It is hardly to be expected that international wars will cease very soon, or that they will be brought to an end by any single process. On the whole, the tendency for a long time past has been in the direction of providing means for settling international differences without resort to physical force. Accompanying this has been another tendency toward lessening, as far as practicable, the sufferings which are caused by wars when they come, and toward preventing, as far as practicable, the spread of disturbances beyond the belligerent nations. This last of course is impossible to be accomplished absolutely, because every war must cause disturbance felt throughout the civilized world. At the same time the situation is very different from what it was two or three centuries since. It is no longer lawful for a neutral nation to loan its troops or its warships to a belligerent, without thereby becoming embroiled with the other belligerent. It is no longer lawful for a neutral government to loan money in aid of a belligerent. It still remains possible for individuals to sell contraband of war to any belligerent. The strict rigor of the opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of the Santissima Trinidad has been materially modified by the Geneva Award of 1871. While theoretically it is possible still for an individual to build and equip a warship and offer it for sale in a belligerent market, practically such a transaction is impossible under modern conditions. No one would build a warship without a pre-contract, and such contract of sale is now forbidden.

A century ago the United States was greatly interested in maintaining the rights of neutrals, and its efforts in the long run met with success. The principles which led this country into its second war with Great Britain have been finally either avowedly or tacitly accepted by the civilized world. It is therefore no longer legal for belligerents to exercise such tyranny over neutrals as was the case during the quarter-century of the hostilities between Great Britain and France which ended with the fall of Napoleon.

In the direction now of localizing the disturbances of war it would seem wise for international agreement to take the direction of extending neutral obligations. These obligations proceeding in the direction of the progress already made, should be developed in the light of making wars more difficult to undertake. It is true that the enormous cost of modern warfare in itself to a certain extent is a deterrent from hostilities. It is not, however, adequate to prevent war altogether, as the history of the past few years sufficiently shows. Any policy generally adopted which will increase those difficulties will thereby tend toward the desired effect of minimizing the ease with which nations drift into hostile relations.

It might be suggested in this line, in the first place, that contraband of war—certainly contraband of war of the first class—ought no longer to be matter of legal commerce with the belligerent nation. It is now forbidden by well-understood principles of international law for a neutral government to sell these articles to a belligerent government. It is common practice for municipal law to forbid individuals within the local jurisdiction to enter on military or naval service for a belligerent engaged in hostilities with a friendly power. It is also forbidden by municipal law for individuals within the local jurisdiction to traffic in arms or ammunition with insurgents within a friendly jurisdiction whose belligerency has not been recognized. Why would not the natural step in this line be for municipal law throughout the civilized world to forbid individuals to do what governments already may not do, that is, to sell contraband of war to a belligerent state, or to individuals of belligerent national character? This, if enforced, and it could be enforced reasonably well, would oblige belligerents to obtain the material to carry on warfare entirely within their respective territories, and thereby would make warfare more difficult.

War is enormously expensive, and is financed very largely by loans. While these loans are in part placed within the national limits, at the same time the great bulk of them are negotiated abroad. Indeed, without the sale of bonds in neutral financial markets it would be extremely difficult to carry on modern warfare at all. Neutral governments may not make loans to a belligerent without thereby committing an unfriendly act toward the other belligerent. Cannot the law go a step farther, and make transactions in the bonds of a belligerent illegal in neutral nations? Then if a nation undertakes war it will be obliged to finance it wholly from the intra-national resources. I admit of course the difficulty of applying such legal limitations as this. The fact that a thing is difficult, however, should not be a serious objection to undertaking it, if on the whole it seems desirable, and it would seem also that a general agreement to this end would result at least in greatly hampering belligerency.

It may be pointed out that such regulations, if adopted, would tend to strengthen strong nations and weaken weak nations; in short, that it would make it easier for a strong nation to coerce a weak one, because thereby the weak nation would be prevented from obtaining help from outside. This objection hardly seems to me to have much weight. Strong nations are curbed, and will be curbed, in their dealings with weak ones, by the public sentiment of the world, and in the last resort by the danger of interference from other great powers. This is the case now; it will remain the case; and the more obvious it is that a weak nation has no recourse but in the overt intervention of great powers, the more likely it will be that these great powers will intervene to see justice done.

It seems to me, therefore, that it is worthy of consideration by the successive Hague Conferences whether these measures may not be adopted,—whereby as soon as a nation engages in public war it is thrown wholly on its own resources, and must expect to find as little help as possible among neutral powers. This will not end wars; it would be, however, a powerful agency in the direction of minimizing their liability and localizing their disturbances. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: As the next speaker I present Dr. L. L. HOBBS, President of Guilford College in North Carolina.

COLLEGES IN THEIR RELATION TO ARBITRATION

ADDRESS OF DR. L. L. HOBBS

It is often assumed that a school teacher has theories in his head, but doubted whether he knows anything about their practical application. Be this assumption as it may, I cannot conceive how any objective reality can be brought to pass which has not first been in somebody's mind. The theory in the mind must precede the object out of the mind. For this reason holding theories is a good thing. If the theories are founded in fact, they can be put into practice sooner or later.

The proclamation of purely abstract truth is like a declaration of faith: it advertises itself as among the possible objective realities and waits on the ages.

Many of us have long held—in fact all our lives—that justice in international contentions can more nearly be reached by an international court of arbitration than by any other means known to us at this time, and that this method will ultimately be established on the earth. To hasten this day some of us doubtless would be willing to give our lives. Yea, some here are doing that thing; and the spectacle of men and women thus devoting their best thought, rare talents and large fortunes is one glorious to behold.

I suppose if a conviction on this great subject once finds lodg-

ment in one's mind, it will be impossible for its contradictory to find entrance at all. That would be a noble piece of work to be engaged in, working for the introduction into all the young minds in this great country of ours of the conception of an international court sitting to adjust difficulties that arise among nations. The colleges and universities ought to be a powerful factor in the inculcation of such a conception and such a faith.

Theoretically my own faith in the principle of arbitration as against war is absolutely unshakable. Any other view would find it as impossible to obtain possession as contradictions in the natural world to the laws that obtain in the realm of physics.

Some might say, "O, that is just the religious prejudice grounded on the non-resistance theory that would lead to passivity in all the affairs that pertain to social and political life." Hardly that bad. Especially is this charge of narrowness seen to be ill-founded when as now, religion is concerning itself almost exclusively with social questions. Men the most deeply religious are interested more in the condition of their brethren in the slums of the cities and in heathen lands than in anything else in this world or in the next. The missionary spirit is in the air. This trend of religion towards sociological questions and towards foreign missions is flatly opposed to killing people either in murder or in war, which is worse than murder. The two things are as far apart as the poles. They cannot go together, and the sociological spirit and the missionary spirit are in the saddle; and the most intelligent and thoughtful men and women in the world to-day long to see the time when disputes between nations will be settled by arbitration.

I take the following sentence from a college paper, written twenty years ago: "It was somewhat scandalously reported one time of a student that having glanced carelessly at the title of Horace's Ode to Mount Soracte, he made his translation under the impression that the verses were addressed to Socrates with so great consistency and appropriateness that the commentators doubted for a time whether they had not themselves been in error." The very assumption and declaration that Soracte is Socrates goes a long way towards taking the mind for Socrates; and if the error or the wrong once gets possession of the mind, it will entrench itself; and it will be well nigh impossible to eradicate it entirely, and cause the mind to be as it would have been, if the truth had gotten possession in the first place.

The function of colleges is to teach truth, and by so doing prevent deception. One might, by restricting attention to certain conditions visible in history and in the present time, easily lead one's self to believe that error more abounds than truth; for it requires energetic and continuous struggle to maintain the right in sufficient degree to prevent things from going to pieces.

We are told on very high authority in psychological science that even in literature, the beauty and elegance and grace must be pointed out to us, or we shall pass many gems by and leave many a "rose" to "waste its fragrance on the desert air."

In natural history did not Agassiz hand you a fish and you made not much more out of it than a stone? And he returned to you the specimen for re-examination. Even then much was unseen until attention was called by the master to the things to be seen.

It appears that people in the main have to be told what to see and what to hear and what to believe. The distinctive place of the college is to do that thing; to find out what the truth is and to proclaim it. It is a great mission to our countrymen, to be all the time standing to prevent deception; and this in the various departments of national and of individual life, in science, in religion, in politics, in philosophy. The educational institutions, therefore, are vitally connected with the serious and most helpful work of these annual conferences; and the proclamations which have gone forth from these conferences have been of tremendous weight on account of the intelligent and authoritative source from which they emanated. The fact that the university and college have within their walls the young people who are to control this country's policies makes their power and responsibility as great and significant as they can be made; and the whole force of this almost infinite sway of the young men of this country ought to be enlisted, and from the very nature of the work a college does, can be enlisted in the better way of settling difficulties between nations, viz., by judges sitting in court whose very function is to get at the facts and reach conclusions warranted by the facts.

As to the best method of securing the proper presentation of the merits of such a system to student bodies, perhaps no one could improve upon the plan which has been pursued for a year or more. Whether or not a lectureship established by this Conference might promote the cause among college communities, I leave for others to say. In many cases, if not in most, whether young men in college, who are generally thoughtful and open to conviction, will accept definite instruction on any subject will depend not only upon the manner of presentation and the weight of reasons adduced, but upon the authority of the person making the presentation. Debating the question by students does about as much harm as good, if not more. Prizes for the best essays by students on the subject of arbitration, I consider very helpful. In this method the writer must investigate. He must get material; he often, to my knowledge, gets the published addresses of this Conference. The writers of essays in this way see the situation with unprejudiced eye. That is about as much as we can do, viz., to present the truth to young minds and rest secure that the truth will make them free.

In this function, then, standing as sentinels in all parts of the country to tell people what to see and what to believe,—the college owes a great debt to our nation to make no false note, but to keep on standing and proclaiming the better way, giving reasons for such way and helping in a very large degree to give politicians to understand that we do not propose to be involved in war, with its waste and pain and greed, and sin, if it can be avoided.

It will be better—infinitely better—for the people to be told what to see, what to hear and what to believe by such men as Mr. Smiley, the Honorable John W. Foster, Dr. Trueblood, Presidents Nicholas Murray Butler and Charles W. Eliot, and David Starr Jordan, than to be told by Richmond Pearson Hobson! (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Our next speaker is Dr. S. P. BROOKS, President of Baylor University in Texas, and the leader of the peace movement in that state.

A CONVERT TO THE PEACE PROPAGANDA

ADDRESS OF DR. S. P. BROOKS

Mr. President, Mr. Smiley, Ladies and Gentlemen: The honor is mine that I should speak here to-day. The honor of my state were better served if one of many others had been selected. I am to speak as a recent convert to the peace cause as represented by this Conference.

It is observable that those converted to any dogma are as anxious for a conversion of others to the same belief in proportion as their own conversion is real and genuine. This paper is entirely too personal to be tolerated on this occasion except that I represent a class, and by recitation of the facts herein may teach a lesson.

I was born in central Georgia just a few months before Gen. Sherman decided to spend the winter in that state and for the last forty years have been a citizen of Texas. I have not always been an advocate of peace, and it is not doubted by me that most of you regard forty years in Texas suitable ground for a new faith or cause for rest under the sod. My life has been spent on the frontier in constant and strenuous exertion incident to the post bellum days and a hard contest with nature and competition found among every people on a border land of old and new conditions.

Much of my life has been spent among a common people, a class that furnishes so many of the soldiers of labor and of war. Such people are almost immobile in their thinking as to any religious, political, social or other public problem. Once convert them and you have a mighty factor in any propaganda, but their conversion is after the travail of time.

When the Spanish-American War came on, I was a college professor, unseasoned, slack-twisted, easily moved by the oratory

of the jingo, yet honestly desirous of serving my country. I made speech after speech in a college chapel, which helped to send several boys to join the army. In the light of the events that followed, I came to see the needlessness of their quitting college, in fact of the war itself. *Of it all I am now heartily ashamed.* I have been born again.

The first Hague Conference opened my eyes. Some animals get their eyes open in nine days. For me it took longer. I was thrilled and stirred, and, with characteristic southern enthusiasm, was swept off into a current of new and helpful thinking. The subjects of my chapel speeches were changed. I grew very happy in a better day, then my own.

The New York National Peace Congress came on in April, 1907. I was there every day and night. Its spirit gripped me. I scorned with dignified reserve the surprise with which every honest Eastern man greeted me that I should be so far away from home, just as I had been forced to do my own friends in Texas who were amazed at the folly of my going.

In my heart I knew if that Congress were good for New York and the world, a smaller one was good for Texas.

Immediately on returning home I did not wait for tardy interviews of newspaper men, but promptly wrote up the proceedings of the New York meeting over my own signature.

In the process of my duties as president of a large coeducational institution whose chief assets are honest work over a thousand students, little money and a hard time, I go here and there over the whole of my state speaking to all sorts of conventions, associations and conferences, whether religious, political, fraternal or what not. At many of these meetings, I, the new convert, spoke long and zealously of the propaganda in which so many of you are ripe in knowledge and experience. So bold was I at last that whether to a Sunday School, to the picnics with their merry-go-rounds and red lemonade or to an editorial convention, never a speech was made by me without every peroration rounding out with a crack at creation and the peace of the world.

I said I will have a peace gathering for Texas, not by the authority of a continental or other Congress but by the authority of a citizen whose chief asset had come to be a sort of daring nerve.

Forthwith the Waco Business Club of which I was a member was committed to the project. 'Tis true I noticed that the vote was taken in delicate but poorly hidden disgust at the dream of a pedagogue. The college printing press was set in motion. My stenographer began to sit up nights trying to keep up with the dictations to prospective dignitaries whom I desired present. Of course there was no money, yet there was no law of the Trustees that forbade the President writing letters.

I put my call for a Congress on the lofty plane of patriotic service to the state and the nation and the world. I asked each man to come, even the speakers, and to pay his own way, railroads, hotels and all. I dictated such a letter to Dr. Trueblood. Even from my office, I could see in advance that so great and good a man could not risk himself at first thought so far from Boston in Texas. Meantime I sent him another invitation with revised provisional program. The subjects were assigned to all the speakers. This time I told the good doctor to trust us for his expenses. Not having lost his misionary zeal and bravery, he came and by his kindly wise instruction won the heart of Texas. Where I live he has but to command to get what he wants. When the program was finally all complete and speakers had promised to come, the railroads gave reduced rates. Every legitimate effort was made to advertise what we called the " Texas State Peace Congress."

The speakers were in very fact worthy of any cause or place. Among them were prominent ministers of the Baptist, Methodist, Episcopal and Catholic Churches. There was a Democratic Congressman, a Republican United States District Attorney, a president of a Commercial Club of a leading city, a Jewish business man, an editor of a city paper, the Grand Master of Grand Lodge of Texas Masons and a woman, one of the most attractive speakers of the Texas Federation Women's Clubs. Dr. Trueblood represented the whole world. In my judgment the Congress was a success. The people said so.

Imagine my surprise when Dr. Trueblood in an address announced that that was the first State Congress of the kind ever held in any commonwealth of the Union. The date was November 19-21, 1907.

There followed the organization of the Texas State Peace Society whose life is rather feeble at present but it hopes to be bigger when it is older.

Since that time I happen to know of several men who have made speeches on the peace movement. College oratory has given full swing to the imagination. Some of the local women's clubs have adopted it for a course of study. From my desk has gone in every letter this spring a card with suggested subjects for essays and speeches for the students of the State High Schools. Several of our Texas dailies have had articles contributed to supplement the excellent editorials. 'Tis true some continue to make sport of the plan and often think of me as a sort of Sancho Panza following after some far away Don Quixote of Massachusetts.

There went with me two students to the Chicago Peace Congress two weeks ago, one of them a young preacher who actually borrowed the money and is at this moment paying 8% interest on the amount. The college paper in a sort of complimentary sar-

casm announced our departure for Chicago as the "Peace Pilgrimage."

What has been done in Texas can and ought to be done in every state. There should be in every commonwealth a Peace Society holding periodic sessions of its Congresses. There should be also a paid secretary for each State whose time could be given to making addresses, giving instruction and creating a local literature.

There should be organized in every High School and college of the land Peace Leagues following the suggestions laid down by the American School Peace League whose efficient secretary, Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews, is doing so much.

There should be created lectureships on this movement in every Theological School, College or University. Why not courses of study on this subject?

This subject ought to be so manifest that no student in any department of any reputable institution of the land could graduate without having heard this gospel, so new to the great unwashed and unterrified masses of our country.

Let us substitute the motto *Si vis pacem, para pacem,* for the following, "Si vis pacem, para bellum" and drive the truth home that the evolution of society was not in a day.

Let business men see taxation in great and unnecessary armaments, let teachers yoke their students to thinking world thoughts, let preachers see that parallel with the evangelization of the world goes the international peace of the world.

Let us remember that we are men and women, not brutes, that grey matter and a liberal use of it is better than physical force, that barter beats theft, that courts are safer than duels, that diplomacy surpasses war, that settlements made at banquet tables are quite as enduring as any ever made at the point of the bayonet, that every war of the world's history has at last had to be fought by the defense with citizen soldiers, that soldiers and sailors of the great standing forces should be taught that this gospel will release them from the horrors of war and the sins of the barracks, the restraints of martial life and make possible homes and families and culture and fewer hours of labor for all.

There is no field of training where so much of it is lost as in the field of warfare. The inventor in quick and ever-recurring ways smashes the work of the tactician.

Distrust is not the natural relation between men or nations. It is, however, the historic and the barbaric relation. Confidence is at the base of civilization. Advocates of war act as if combatants were the only nations whose rights must be preserved.

No man is ever a real convert to the peace policy unless he recognizes the universality of the race and the brotherhood of all men. To say this I suppress much feeling and more prejudice.

He must know that God made the world for all men and all men for the whole world.

American citizens from their youth up are taught the sovereignty of the individual forgetful often of the sovereignty of the nation above him, which in some measure must curtail his rights. Likewise nations must learn that though sovereign they are of necessity subject in much to the international law above them. Fear lies at the basis of all war and sense always overcomes fear. International sanction is possible through public opinion, supplemented by international police. Nothing exalts a man or a nation like righteousness and justice and nothing so sustains them like an enlightened public conscience. A convert to Christianity is supposed to adopt the law of love. The same law applied to national life is above the understanding of the average man but not above the truth.

There is work for us to do. Marvel not that men must be born again to a world of new thinking before they can adjust themselves to the policy of peace among all nations.

The man of the world thinks us mad. We are not mad. We merely speak a language that he does not understand. Nor will he understand it until he has been born again. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. GEORGE W. NASMYTH of Cornell University, the President of the Association of Cosmopolitan Clubs, will speak on the relation of the Cosmopolitan movement in our colleges to international arbitration.

THE COSMOPOLITAN MOVEMENT AND INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION

ADDRESS OF MR. GEORGE W. NASMYTH

The relation of the Cosmopolitan Movement to International Arbitration is one of cause and effect, of root and blossom. Each is part of that larger movement among the nations of the earth whose ideals are the most splendid of our age,—universal peace, the union of the continents, and the world-wide brotherhood of man. International arbitration is one of the fruits of this great movement. Cosmopolitanism is one of its roots. "The first great problem of the peace movement is that of securing a right spirit among nations and races,—a spirit of justice, of mutual respect, of fairness, of friendship, of brotherliness." It is on this fundamental problem, lying at the root of the great tree which we hope to see live and grow and wax strong and burst into a wealth of blossom and flower and fruit, that the Association of Cosmopolitan Clubs is at work.

The Cosmopolitan movement derives its importance from the great number of foreign students in American universities. In

Cornell University, with whose statistics I am best acquainted, there are 180 foreign students, representing 32 nationalities and races of the world, and including 32 students from China, 19 from Cuba, 12 from the Philippines, 12 from Argentina, and 10 from Japan. These students are picked men, sent here by their governments, the majority of them, and many of them will rise to high positions of power and influence among their countrymen when they return home. Can you imagine more favorable conditions for growing ideals of universal peace and international arbitration between the nations; for breaking down the barriers of prejudice against race, religion and nationality; for bringing about a better understanding and mutual sympathy between man and man? As a matter of experience, we have found that these prejudices are based chiefly upon ignorance, and that all that is necessary to accomplish our object is to bring these men together. The experience of the American members of the Cosmopolitan Clubs is typical. We find first that the foreign students are men of like passions with us, we learn to understand them, to admire and trust them, to love them. I know of no other influence so effective, so pregnant with possibilities for the cause of "Peace on earth" as these deep friendships which are formed between the young men from many nations and the four corners of the earth, who are gathered together under the roofs of American universities.

The spontaneous origin and marvelous growth of the Cosmopolitan movement are eloquent tributes to the vital underlying force. Internationalism seems to be in the air which we breathe. Cosmopolitan Clubs were formed independently and without knowledge of each other at half a dozen universities before 1907, beginning with Wisconsin in 1903 and Cornell in 1904. At the time of the first convention in 1907 eight universities were represented in the Association. At the second convention, held last December, the number had increased to sixteen, and at the present time twenty universities are represented in the movement. Cosmopolitanism has a virile missionary spirit, and its propaganda is carried on vigorously, not only among the members of the club, deepening the spirit and strengthening their ideals, but also throughout every university in which a club exists, and into universities where Cosmopolitan Clubs have not yet been formed. Our rapid growth to this roll of twenty chapters reaching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and representing a total of more than 1,400 individual members, is due to the combination of this missionary spirit with that greater vital force, that unconscious striving towards a world unity which prepares the soil and makes possible the growth after the seed is planted.

The Cosmopolitan movement is a vital, integral part of the peace movement.

This is the indirect relation of the Cosmopolitan movement to international arbitration, a relation of source and river, of the roots of a tree to the fruit which it bears. The direct relations are many and important. All our members are urged to enroll as correspondents of the Lake Mohonk Conference. The Association of Cosmopolitan Clubs is an auxiliary of the American Peace Society. Our work is your work, and your aims and ideals are ours. One of the most interesting meetings of the Cornell Club this year centered around a discussion on "The International Boycott as a Substitute for War" while lectures by Henry Van Dyke on "International Arbitration" and by Mrs. Mead on the progress of the peace movement have aroused intense interest. Most significant of all for the cause of international arbitration are the steps which are being taken to unite the Association of Cosmopolitan Clubs with the International Federation of Students, better known in Europe as the "Corda Fratres." This organization numbers 65 chapters and 15,000 members among the European universities, its constitution in all essential features is remarkably similar to the Cosmopolitan constitution, and objects of both movements are the same, peace and service to humanity. If this union is consummated at the Conference at The Hague between the two organizations next August, in the manner in which I believe it will be, the cause of international arbitration will possess an instrument whose potency none of us can estimate.

The Cosmopolitan movement is a vital part of the peace movement. Increasingly with the years will it become a source of strength in the movement for international arbitration. The great work of Cosmopolitanism will be done more than ten or twenty years hence, when many of these young men who are now going back to their homes and their life work, filled with the spirit of Cosmopolitanism, will have become leaders of public opinion and even of the political spirit and policies of their nation. Cosmopolitanism has been defined as "Democracy Writ Large." But is is more than that. To the ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity for which democracy stands must be added the spirit of that song which the angels sang so many centuries ago, and the realization of which seems so bright before us now, "Peace on Earth, Good Will to Men." And in this great cause for which the men of the Cosmopolitan movement are working shoulder to shoulder with the men of this Conference, no watchword can serve which is less broad or deep than those prophetic words of the seer, Goldwin Smith, "Above all Nations is Humanity." (Applause.)

The Chairman: Mr. Chester Dewitt Pugsley, a student of Harvard University and donor of the Pugsley prize for the best essay on international arbitration by a student of an American college, will now present the prize to Mr. L. B. Bobbitt, a student in the Sophomore class of Johns Hopkins University who won it.

PRESENTATION OF THE PUGSLEY PRIZE

REMARKS OF MR. CHESTER D. PUGSLEY

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Smiley, Ladies and Gentlemen: This Conference, three years ago, added to its objects the interesting of the colleges of the country in the arbitration movement. The work among the colleges is, I believe, one of the most important influences of this Conference, for it is the students in our colleges today who as the moulders of the public sentiment of this nation a generation hence will have a large part in achieving the ideal for which this Conference stands.

It was exceedingly gratifying that so many college students should have written for the prize of this Conference on International Arbitration. This shows a thorough study of the subject by each one of the contestants, who thereby become familiar with the progress and status of the arbitration movement, and will be more or less interested in the subject in after life.

Your committee, consisting of President Butler, ex-Secretary Foster and Judge Gray have made the award, and on behalf of the Conference I am asked to present the prize of $50 offered by it for the best essay on International Arbitration by a student of any American college or university to Mr. L. B. Bobbitt, a member of the Sophomore class in Johns Hopkins University.

Honorable mention is made of Mr. George H. Hinckley, of Dartmouth College and Mr. Paul L. Kirby, of Amherst, who I am glad to say are both present at the Conference, and of Mr. George E. Timpson, of Columbia University, Mr. Madison Richardson, of Wofford College; and Mr. George E. Dewey, of the University of Illinois. Mr. Bobbitt, on behalf of the Conference, I present you the prize. (Applause.)

RESPONSE BY MR. L. B. BOBBITT

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I deeply appreciate the honor of standing before so eminent a gathering as this, and I feel great hesitancy in speaking after the gentlemen to whom I have listened for the past two days. But it is my pleasant duty to return thanks and such a duty is ample excuse for my addressing you.

The prize given by Mr. Pugsley, aside from its material value, has conferred upon me two other benefits, for which I wish to express my gratitude.

In the first place it introduced me to the study of international arbitration, a subject of which I knew practically nothing before; so that in my case, at least, Mr. Pugsley's desire to stimulate interest in arbitration among college students has been gratified.

In the second place it was the cause of my being invited to this ideal mountain retreat to attend this Conference. I do not wish

to be profuse in expressing my thanks; like Cordelia, I shall be brief and sincere. Suffice it to say I consider this one of the proudest days of my life. It has been made so by the generosity of Mr. Pugsley and by the hospitality of our host. I thank you. (Applause.)

COMPULSORY ARBITRATION

PRIZE-WINNING ESSAY* OF MR. L. B. BOBBITT

This paper does not attempt to propose any original methods of securing compulsory arbitration, nor to present any exhaustive analysis of those that have been proposed. It aims merely to give an outline of what the two Hague Conferences, either directly or indirectly, have accomplished in the direction of making arbitration obligatory, and to indicate briefly what may reasonably be expected to be attained during the coming generation.

The first Hague Conference, convoked by the Czar of Russia in the spring of 1899, far surpassed all previous assemblies of its kind. One hundred distinguished diplomatists and jurists, representing twenty-six of the foremost nations of the world, gathered at The Hague to discuss measures for mitigating the brutality of war and furthering the maintenance of peace.

This second phase of the work of the Conference soon proved the more important; and the question of arbitration, which had not been especially emphasized in the program mapped out for the Conference by the Russian government, came into prominence as the object whose attainment would be of most far-reaching benefit to the human race. The "Convention for the Peaceful Adjustment of International Differences," adopted by the Conference, was the result of the earnest deliberation of many eminent men endeavoring, as far as possible, to prevent war.

This Convention, though it embodied high ideals and evidenced the growth of peace sentiment among the nations, provided only for voluntary arbitration. Obligatory arbitration was not even mentioned. In spite of the fact that many of the delegates were ardent advocates of world-wide arbitration, others, acting under the instructions of their governments, took a distinctly conservative position. Germany objected even to the establishment of a permanent court of arbitration, and her consent to this was procured only on condition that no obligation to make use of the court should be imposed upon the nations.

But the failure of the Conference to make arbitration in any way compulsory is no reason for heaping blame upon its members. A great conference simply registers the opinions and the degree of enlightenment of the people whom it represents. The delegates

*Mr. Bobbitt's essay, though not read at this session, is printed here for convenient reference.—Ed.

to The Hague soon saw that unanimity on the subject was impossible, and even the most extreme advocates of arbitration realized that without unanimity any act of the Conference would prove futile. Considering the diversity of opinion among the delegates, what the Conference really did with reference to arbitration was remarkable. The Convention just referred to is significant as a statement of principles to which all the great nations of the world subscribed, and although obligatory arbitration was not attained, the establishment of a permanent international tribunal marked a long step forward.

One article of the Convention in time led to practical progress toward compulsory arbitration. By Article 19, the Signatory Powers, "independently of general or private treaties expressly stipulating recourse to arbitration as obligatory" upon them, reserved to themselves the "right of concluding, either before the ratification of the Present Act, or later, new Agreements, general or private, with a view to extending obligatory arbitration to all cases which they may consider possible to submit to it." Acting upon this declaration, many nations, between the two Hague Conferences, bound themselves to submit to the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague certain classes of questions, and in several treaties the Contracting Parties referred to arbitration all questions of dispute that might arise between them.

By treaty of October 14, 1903, Great Britain and France agreed to submit to the Hague Court "differences of a judicial order, or relative to the interpretation of existing treaties between the two Contracting Parties, which may arise, and which it may not have been possible to settle by diplomacy, on condition, however, that neither vital interests, nor the independence or honor of the two Contracting States nor the interests of any State other than the two Contracting States, are involved." This type of treaty was followed in those concluded between Great Britain and Germany, Italy and Spain, France and Italy, and France and Spain, and has been the usual form adopted by the great powers. Some smaller nations have gone farther. The Netherlands and Denmark, by a treaty signed February 12, 1904, referred to the Hague Court "all mutual differences and disputes that cannot be solved by means of a diplomatic channel." As a last example, Chili and Argentina, May 28, 1902, referred all their difficulties to arbitration by the British government, or, in its default, by the Swiss government.

At the Second Hague Conference, held during the summer of 1907, the subject of obligatory arbitration gave rise to prolonged debate. Since the Conference of 1899, public opinion had so far developed that the idea of a universal arbitration treaty making arbitration obligatory for certain classes of cases was now regarded as at least possible. The successful working of the Permanent Court of Arbitration in the four cases that had been submitted to

it and the large number of private treaties that had been concluded stipulating recourse to the Court seemed to point to such a treaty.

Nevertheless, it was not realized. The American proposal for a treaty covering judicial cases and cases relating to the interpretation of treaties, with the exception of those involving vital interests, independence, and honor, and the interests of third parties, received a vote of 35 out of 44; other proposals received even fewer votes. As the first aim of the Conference was unanimity, it therefore adopted no proposal for obligatory arbitration. Instead it adopted unanimously a resolution admitting the principle of obligatory arbitration, and declaring that certain differences, especially those relating to the interpretation and application of international treaties, are capable of being submitted to arbitration without any restriction whatever.

Besides making this declaration, the Conference virtually established obligatory arbitration in one class of cases, namely, those relating to the collection of contract debts. By Convention II, the powers agreed not to resort to force in the collection of contract debts unless "the debtor state refuses or neglects to reply to an offer of arbitration, or, after accepting the offer, prevents any agreement of reference from being agreed on, or, after the arbitration, fails to submit to the award." In addition to the salutary influence that this agreement will exert in securing to weak nations against strong creditors the advantages of arbitration, it will perform still greater service in furnishing an example of the operation of general compulsory arbitration in a single class of cases; and as it becomes more and more evident that progress in obligatory arbitration must be a gradual development and not an impulsive decision by any conference, this Convention acquires remarkable significance as an entering wedge. Altogether, the work of the Second Hague Conference in the direction of compulsory arbitration is of more consequence than the people of the world have generally admitted.

Since the Conference of 1907, many more private arbitration treaties have been negotiated, of which the treaties of the United States with Great Britain, France, Spain, Italy, and Japan, concluded in the spring of 1908, are probably the most important. These treaties are of the same type as the Anglo-French treaty of 1903; questions affecting the "vital interest, independence, or the honor of the contracting states" are still excluded from arbitration; but the mere multiplication of arbitration treaties of whatever kind is a good sign.

After this brief account of the work of the two Hague Conferences concerning compulsory arbitration (and, directly or indirectly, all that has been accomplished is due to them), let me indicate the objects that seem reasonably sure of attainment in the near future. The Third Hague Conference, which will meet prob-

ably in 1915, will begin its work where the Second stopped. Proposals that in 1907 were not adopted because premature may by that time be ripe for world-wide acceptance. The long, earnest debate over a general arbitration treaty was not fruitless, even though no practical result followed. It served to reveal that, though unanimity was impossible, the majority of the nations were in favor of general compulsory arbitration in a restricted form. What the champions of peace should strive for, and, I think, look forward to with some degree of confidence, is the breaking down of the opposition of the minority of nations before 1915. To judge by the two Conferences already held, it is not improbable that the third will witness the adoption by all the powers of a world-wide arbitration treaty on at least a small number of subjects.

But how is the opposition to be overcome? Primarily, by the education of public opinion to a belief in the effectiveness and the practicability of compulsory arbitration. The conservative action of the German representatives at The Hague in 1907 was only the reflection of the conservatism of the German people. It is only by appealing to the mass of mankind and convincing them that compulsory arbitration will not only work well but result in untold benefit to humanity, that we can win the approval of governments. The value of Peace Societies, of Arbitration Conventions, of bodies like the "Association for International Conciliation," as instruments for moulding public thought, cannot be overestimated. If Germany had as many such organizations as the United States and France, her chilly conservatism would soon thaw under the sunshine of enlightened peace sentiment.

Then, too, this opposition will be overcome, I have no doubt, by the observation of the successful working of arbitration under existing treaties. The large number of these treaties will surely cause many disputes to be brought before the Hague Court.. The few cases that have already been decided by that Court promise equitable decisions of many more; and each new case settled amicably and equitably will strengthen the confidence with which countries resort to arbitration. The large number of private treaties by which individual nations have obliged themselves to submit some of their differences to the Hague Court ought to demonstrate the advisability of a general treaty of this kind. Germany's reluctance to become a party to a treaty with the South American republics is based I believe, on a groundless fear. When so many nations are willing to trust each other sufficiently to negotiate separate arbitration treaties, is it likely that friction would result if these various agreements were condensed into one? But Germany, in my opinion, will not resist much longer. Let her once see clearly the trend of events, the successful operation of obligatory arbitration as it exists, and she will support the broader

form with all her Teutonic sturdiness and with the greater earnestness because she took a long time to make up her mind.

The first universal arbitration treaty for which we can hope will necessarily be strictly limited. It will provide compulsory arbitration in only a few classes of cases. What the United States proposed at the Second Hague Conference is all that can be hoped for at any early date. Though questions involving vital interests and honor are the very disputes that it would be most desirable to see submitted to arbitration, still obligatory arbitration of such matters by the Hague Tribunal seems a long way off.

A special device by which the number of questions excepted from the working of arbitration can be limited is that embodied in the Mexico-Spain Treaty of 1902 and incorporated by the Interparliamentary Union in its model arbitration treaty. The Mexico-Spain Treaty, after referring to arbitration "all controversies that may arise during the existence of the treaty, and not affecting national independence or honor," sets forth a long list of questions concerning which national independence or honor shall not be considered to be compromised. This plan, although it has been followed in private treaties only occasionally, the next Hague Conference would do well to consider. If it can possibly be made a feature of the general arbitration treaty, a great stride will have been taken in compulsory arbitration.

It would be a long step forward, also, if in the universal arbitration treaty nations could be brought to the point of agreeing to let the Hague Court, and not the interested parties, decide whether any given cause of dispute really affects the vital interests or national honor of the parties in conflict. In times of national excitement and bitterness of feeling, no nation is competent to decide fairly so delicate a question. The obvious fairness of referring this preliminary question to a disinterested tribunal ought to render it possible to include such a stipulation in the general treaty.

The establishment, then, of a general treaty making arbitration compulsory for judicial questions and questions not involving vital interests, independence, and honor, or the interests of third parties, and leaving to arbitration to decide whether any dispute is such an exception, seems to me the next step to be attained in compulsory arbitration. My hopes, of course, are not limited to this. Universal peace secured by universal arbitration is the goal toward which we strive. We want peace, not from cowardice, nor from policy, but from conviction; peace not merely generally, but peace universally. This, however, will not come in a year, nor in a generation, nor even, it may be, in a century. The institutions of man grow and develop; time alone brings mighty changes. The broadminded men of the two Hague Conferences knew well that they could not reform the world in a day. But, in the words of

Secretary Root, " The achievements of the two conferences justify the belief that the world has entered upon an orderly process through which, step by step, in successive conferences, each taking the work of its predecessor as its point of departure, there may be continual progress toward making the practice of civilized nations conform to their peaceful professions."

The Conference then adjourned until evening.

Sixth Session

Friday Evening, May 21, 1909

THE CHAIRMAN: When an American has an opportunity to present to an audience the President of the United States, he is likely to content himself with the simple words: "Ladies and Gentlemen, the President." I feel, in like manner, like introducing the first speaker of the evening by saying simply: Ladies and Gentlemen, THE AMBASSADOR. (Applause.)

ALLEGIANCE TO HUMANITY

ADDRESS OF RIGHT HONORABLE JAMES BRYCE

British Ambassador to the United States

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: To my great regret, I have been detained elsewhere during the previous sessions of this Conference, and so have lost the benefit of knowing what has passed at any of them. It is, therefore, out of my power to refer to the views advanced by previous speakers, and I must ask your pardon if I inadvertently repeat what some of them may have said.

About the blessings of peace, about the horrors of war, about the value of arbitration as a means of preventing war surely everything that can be said, has been said. You who meet here to promote arbitration and peace have no enemy in the field. If there are those who advocate war and disparage arbitration they do not come to listen to you, they do not give you the chance of convincing them. Hawks there may be, but they do not attend this congress of doves. Those who speak to you find themselves in the position of preaching to the converted. It is an easy process; but it is not stimulating to us, the converted, and not profitable to the unconverted who keep out of range. Our discussions at all peace gatherings are really discussions in the abstract and we shall not know that we are making real progress until we translate good abstract resolutions into concrete practice. No doubt much progress has been made. The work of the Hague Conference has been extremely valuable. The creation of the Hague Court and the reference to it of such controversies as that which the United States had with Mexico and that relating to the Newfoundland Fisheries mark a very great advance. Nevertheless, it is felt that risks of war have not disappeared and the proof of this is shown in the fact that all the great countries continue to go on increasing their military and naval armaments.

There is no certainty that if some dispute suddenly arose inflaming the passions of two nations they would refer it to arbitration. Some disputes are, indeed, expressly excluded by the recent Arbitration Treaties from their scope. We may regret this, but such is the fact and it shows that governments have not that full confidence in the application of the principle which many of you may desire. Even where the case is one that does fall within the treaty we cannot be sure that two nations each perhaps irritated and excited may not prefer to resort to arms rather than use the machinery for securing peace which they have themselves in their more tranquil moments provided. All the virtuous sentiments, all the good resolutions may be forgotten when anger and suspicion suspend the reign of reason. There is indeed no sign that this is going to happen at present, nor is there, I think, any ground of difference between any two nations now which would for a moment justify hostilities. All the nations both of this hemisphere and of the other have every possible reason for endeavoring to keep the peace. Interest, as well as conscience and duty prescribe that course. It is also a most encouraging sign that troubles in Eastern Europe which would probably thirty years ago have caused a European war have been within the last few months peaceably adjusted. In particular, we have all reason to rejoice that a regime of tyranny in the Turkish Empire has been brought to an end, that the principles of liberty have been proclaimed in that country, and that we may expect the shocking massacres that have recently been perpetrated in Asia Minor, probably a last effort of expiring tyranny, to be severely punished, and that the Christians and Mussulmans are beginning to recognize that they have a common interest in good government and must work together in harmonious co-operation and friendship. These things may well be welcomed as a great step onward and a good augury for the future. Nevertheless, when we remember how often before governments and nations that had every interest to keep the peace allowed themselves to be drawn into war, and how disproportionate the alleged causes of strife were to the real interests involved we cannot be sure that the same thing may not occur again and we must ask once more, why is it that good resolutions are so often forgotten? Why is the practice of nations so much worse than the theory? One of the answers most often given is that ill-feeling between nations leading up to war is due to the newspapers, which when a dispute arises between two peoples, are accused of misrepresenting the purposes and the sentiments of the other people, of suppressing the case for the other country and overstating the case for their own, of twisting fact, of appealing to national vanity and inflaming national passion, so that at last they lead each people to believe itself wholly in the right and the other wholly in the wrong. How far these charges

are justified your recollections of how the press has behaved before the outbreak of the various wars in which great nations have been involved since 1870 will enable you to judge. I am not here either to censure or to defend the newspapers. They are well able to take care of themselves. But in the interests of truth and justice it must be asked whether it is really they that are most to blame. They don't write to please themselves but to please and interest their readers. If foreign countries are attacked, it is because they think the public like it and expect it. In every country the newspapers try to meet and gratify the wishes of the people, their faults quite as much as their virtues, and are what the people make them. So if the people wish that the newspapers should show a truly pacific spirit, friendly to other nations, anxious to know in case of an international dispute what the case of the other nation is, they will intimate their wish by ceasing to buy and withdrawing their advertising from the newspapers which try to provoke strife, and then the newspapers will in their desire to please their public change their own attitude, will cease to be reckless and inflammatory and will supply to their readers facts and opinions which will at any rate not hinder peace and not kindle passion.

Thus we come back to the people, that is to ourselves, the ordinary citizens who are the ultimate masters both of the government and of the press. Why do we encourage the newspapers to do the very things which you, the friends of peace, blame the newspapers for doing? Why do we like to have other nations placed in the worst light and their defects exaggerated? Why is it thought patriotic to defy other nations and unpatriotic to indicate any faults in ourselves, any weak points in our own case? Why does each behave as if it only were virtuous and deserved the special favor of Providence? It knows that every other nation thinks the same thing and has about as much ground for so thinking. Yet it continues to glorify itself and enjoys hearing the other denounced and vilified, just as the Iroquois and Algonquins who once roved these woods used to hurl opprobrious epithets at one another before they rushed forward with the tomahawk.

At this moment all the governments in all the great military and naval States are (I venture to believe) honestly desirous of peace. Not one of them has any cause for war. Not one of them but would lose by war far more than it could gain. Yet it is apparently possible for those who desire, from whatever motives, to stir up suspicion and enmity to succeed in convincing each nation that the other has designs upon it. Not long ago this happened. Much suspicion, much alarm was aroused, without any justification, between you and another power, though both your government and its government were perfectly friendly, each desiring to behave well by the other.

Every nation is conscious of its own rectitude of purpose and believes that its armaments are for its own safety and will not be used unjustly or aggressively. But each one is told that it must not credit with similar good intentions the other nation which is for the moment the object of its jealousy. The ordinary man is apparently more prone to believe evil than good; and hardly anybody takes up the cause of the other nation. That would be called unpatriotic.

Is not the fault then not so much in the press which ministers to our foibles as in ourselves that we are too ignorant, perhaps wilfully ignorant, about other nations, too neglectful in not trying to understand them and to put ourselves in their place? Is not this one chief cause of the atmosphere of suspicion which pervades the relations of the Great Powers, and leads them to go on creating the enormous armaments and levying the enormous taxes under which their people stagger? Would not a better knowledge by each nation of the other nations do something to dispel these suspicions? Every nation must of course be prepared to repel all dangers at all likely to threaten it. But it should also try to ascertain whether the dangers it is told to provide against are real or illusory, and it should try to enter into the position of other nations and ask whether it may not be exciting in their minds a mistaken impression of its purposes. Suspicion breeds suspicion; and nations have sometimes come to fear and dislike one another only because each was incessantly told that it was disliked by the other, and that the other was planning to attack it.

Thirty or forty years ago there was a good deal of this suspicion between Britain and the United States. Better knowledge by each nation of the other has extinguished that feeling and substituted for it a genuine friendship which will, we may feel sure, at once recur to arbitration for the settlement of any question that may arise. Why should this not be done as regards the other powers also? Why when a controversy arises with any other country should we not, before sharpening our tempers and our swords, try to believe that there are two sides to the controversy and keep cool till we have considered the other side and made the other people feel that we mean to be reasonable?

Our country is not the only thing to which we owe our allegiance. It is owed also to justice and to humanity. Patriotism consists not in waving a flag but in striving that our country shall be righteous as well as strong. A State is not less strong for being resolved to use its strength in a temperate and pacific spirit.

It was well said recently by Mr. Root that there ought to be, and there was gradually coming to be, a public opinion of nations which favored arbitration and would condemn any government which plunged into war when amicable means of settlement were available. May we not go even further and desire and work for

the creation of a public opinion of the world which has regard to the general interests of the world, raising its view above the special interests of each people? Are we not carrying our national feeling to excess when we think only of the welfare, only of the glory, of our own nation? Is it not the mark of a truly philosophic as well as of a truly religious mind to extend its sympathy and its hopes to all mankind? Would not the diffusion of such a feeling and an appreciation of the truth that every nation gains by the prosperity and happiness of other peoples be a force working for peace and good-will among the nations more powerfully and more steadily than all our arbitration treaties? (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: We are now to hear a speaker who has traveled the longest distance of any of us to get here—for several weeks past he has been traversing the expanse of land and sea between Johannesburg and Lake Mohonk in order to be present at this Conference—a man who has devoted skill, organizing capacity and general assistance to the task of making nations understand one another better, and who is particularly well known to teachers and educators in Great Britain and the United States because of his service in the interchange of international visits which he has organized and which through his generous co-operation have been made possible for some years past. I have pleasure in presenting Mr. ALFRED MOSELY, of London.

AN ENGLISH VIEW OF THE QUESTION OF ARMAMENTS

REMARKS OF MR. ALFRED MOSELY

I need hardly say how great a pleasure it gives me to be present at this Conference, believing implicitly, as I do, in the virtues of arbitration. But arbitration is a thing that cannot be hurried, that must not be pushed too far and too fast; in other words, if there is to be an effective result you must hasten slowly. In bygone days we knew but one law, that of force, force in the evolution of events, and now through the action of Conferences such as this it is giving place to reason. And I think you all rejoice that we are marching, even though slowly, towards a better understanding between nations. Many of our troubles arise, as the Ambassador of Great Britain has pointed out to you, through prejudice, through ignorance, through our failing to understand one another and see one another's weak points and see one another's good points and faults from the other man's standpoint. And the work that I have been engaged in for some years past, namely the interchange of trade universities, workingmen, teachers, between the United States and Great Britain, I venture to think may contain the seeds of much good and may help to break down those pre-

judices that we all so deplore, and especially, perhaps, it may be within the power of the teachers who have carried thousands and hundreds of thousands of children through their hands, when they travel backward and forward and see each other's good points, pick the brains of each other, I may say, for the good of each other's nations, and generally learn to appreciate all the best points that they can find in each other's countries. I am never tired of discussing this point with regard to education. It means so much for the future generation. Your nation of the future is now in the embryo of the children that are growing up and the grave responsibility rests upon this, no less than upon any other to see that its children get the best of education. Now the United States has, I think I may say, almost led the way in giving free education, from the kindergarten to the university, to the whole of its citizens, but universities, buildings, equipments, are all worthless unless they are to be manned by the very best brains that you can command in the shape of your teachers, and there—if I may be allowed to say a word—is your weakness. You spend money ad libitum on your equipments and schools, but what is the position of your teacher? Are you likely to attract the best brains of the country, perhaps among the men, when you offer the pittances of salaries that you are now paying? I have, upon more than one occasion in my visits here, called attention to that point, and I may be excused, perhaps, if I repeat myself in again speaking of it to-night.

No man who has any feeling of responsibility can view the possibilities of war without a shudder. I perhaps feel it more keenly than many of you because I went through the South African campaign and was brought face to face with the horrors of war. And one regrets even that in the delicate state of public opinion, both in Germany and England, the very talk of the sign of trouble between them should be regretted and I feel that it is a mistake, perhaps, to throw, into the melting pot, when the air is charged highly with electricity, any comment upon the delicate situation,—but it has been the subject of discussion at this Conference and I therefore desire to say a word upon that point.

The position of England is hardly appreciated, I think, by the bulk of American citizens with its battle fleets and with its armies ever on the march within sound of its neighbors, with the battleships coasting up and down the channel and in the Mediterranean under the eyes of the people, and this in itself becomes a danger. The balance of power in Europe is very delicately adjusted and we have had signs of late that that balance of power may be upset. We see the naval program ever increasing—it is a serious position, one that I think we all strongly feel at the bottom of our hearts is a menace to the peace of the world. But we in England are agreed, and agreed from both sides of the House of Commons

—and that is saying a good deal for England—as to the necessity of keeping the navy up to the highest pitch of efficiency and the only difference of opinion that one has been able to discern in the debates of the last few months is that one side says let us build a certain number of powerful warships at once and the other side says let us build part of them now and put off the balance for a few months because we may get some advantage by later developments. There is hardly any difference in the program of those two great parties in the House of Commons, and why? Is it that both sides feel the pinch, and feel the necessity to be on the *qui vive,* to guard what they consider their hearth and home and rights? These are the events that have taken place in rapid succession during the last few months. It commenced by that famous interview of the German Emperor. What was the sum and substance of that message, or that interview? It referred to the time when England was at war in South Africa and it was said in that interview when other nations approached each other with a view of offering some resistance at that time that Germany was approached and she gave the answer: "I would do nothing that would bring me in contact with a naval power like Great Britain." Now we don't know what answer would have been given had Great Britain not been a great naval power. An utterance such as this is very well meant and I believe the German Emperor does mean well to his own country and the world at large, and the fact that Germany has been at peace for so many years is in itself an eloquent testimony. But these utterances cause suspicion, the very suspicion that our Ambassador has spoken of, and have given rise to discussions in the House of Commons resulting in the increase of the navy.

We have had another example in the late trouble in the near East, Bosnia and Herzegovenia. There a good many years ago a treaty was formed defining what should be the status of those countries and other parts of the near East. The treaty, known as the Treaty of Berlin, was signed, but suddenly, without warning, that treaty was torn into shreds and those provinces were annexed to Austria. Is it any wonder, therefore, under these conditions England and Europe is sensitive? I don't see how any other state of mind is possible. But whilst we may all be sensitive, I don't think it has gone beyond that phase of mind. No country would undertake lightly a war which might end in its own downfall and would unquestionably bring great suffering to the rest of Europe, and there I venture to think lies the great possibility of hope and peace. In these days when the gunpowder is ready to explode, we think of the past with misery. No nation dares to undertake it, no statesman dares to advise it. You have had your own little experiences in the Spanish-American war where public opinion was fired, and if I may be allowed to refer

to the part that England played at that time, it was our strong navy that possibly confined the war to the United States and Spain.

All these matters give us food for reflection, serious reflection, and at Conferences like this where there is no passion aroused, one can look calmly at the awful calamity that might occur if an explosion were to take place. I venture to think that Conferences such as this pave the way for inculcating good, providing you don't hurry it too much; as I have said before, you must hasten slowly.

A delegate from Winnipeg who spoke yesterday referred to the enormous progress that Canada is making, a progress we all rejoice in, a prosperity, I am sure, that the United States rejoices in as much as we. He pointed out that our resources in Canada were being poured in for the development of the country instead of that of armaments, but he forgot to mention to you, Ladies and Gentlemen, that there is no occasion for Canada to provide armaments because England has undertaken that function herself in protecting Canada against any possible trouble. England's armaments are only those of defence. Mr. Bryce—our Ambasador—has told us that we all think we are only defending our homes, but the condition of a large increase of other powers has compelled us to take this step. It is a source of anxiety to the nation itself, a very great burden upon the people, but it is inevitable.

Now Mr. Taft, I believe, has been proposed as one who should take the initiative in saying something to England and Germany. I am not at all sure that Mr. Taft will care to undertake the task, but if he does, may I be allowed to make one suggestion, and that is, he should turn his attention towards Germany. (Laughter.) Yes, I was quite aware it would raise a laugh, I fully expected it would, and you will ask me why I am so anxious that Mr. Taft should approach Germany. I will tell you why. England has proposed to Germany to come to some understanding with regard to armaments, but no response has been given. England is willing, she has shown her willingness, to reduce her armaments, or at all events to call a halt, providing other nations—and Germany especially—will do the same, and if Mr. Taft will bring about that happy state of things I am sure England—the taxpayers—would feel intensely grateful.

I fear I have detained you rather too long. I had intended only to speak upon the good I thought might occur from this interchange of teachers between Great Britain and the United States. I hope as time goes on that those delegates will continue to come and that instead of the hundreds who come to the United States and to Great Britain we shall have thousands in their places. The more we can point out this scheme of knowing each other, the less likely is any future cause for friction and misunderstanding. And

President Butler, who was kind enough to say flattering things in regard to my own small efforts, is the one who is more responsible than myself for the bringing about of this interchange. It was his efforts with the steamship companies that gave these teachers their free transportation and made it possible, and my own small work has been merely that of organization and trying to make the wheels run smoothly. Dr. Butler has really been the one who made this scheme possible by his efforts with the steamship companies and to him I feel that thanks are due more infinitely than to any one else.

I thank you, Ladies and Gentlemen. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Our next speaker needs no introduction to this Conference. He is too well-known as a Member of the American Congress and the head of the American Delegation to the several meetings of the Interparliamentary Union,—Hon. RICHARD BARTHOLDT, of Missouri.

LET US ORGANIZE FOR PEACE

ADDRESS OF HON. RICHARD BARTHOLDT

Mr. Smiley, Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: Permit me first to return my grateful acknowledgment to Mr. Smiley for his generous hospitality and for the great service he is rendering by these conferences in behalf of a cause which to my mind presents the greatest material and moral issue now confronting the civilized world.

The underlying thought of the message I have to deliver to you to-night is neither new nor original, but the message itself is both, and I should like, after you have listened to it, to take it back to Washington with your approval. It is an appeal to President Taft in behalf of what I should term a shortcut to permanent peace. What I have to say will have no reference whatever to any strained relations which may now exist between any European countries. We peace men—and I say it with all due deference to the speaker who has preceded me, our distinguished guest—we peace men are in the habit of emphasizing what unites nations and belittling what divides them. As to the Boer war, we all deeply regret that it had to take place. As to the occurrence in the Balkans, we point to them as an evidence of the great growth of our idea, because ten years ago you could not have struck a match in the Balkans without causing an explosion. To-day a great revolution has taken place and not one drop of blood shed as between the fighting men of different countries. We ascribe that, Mr. President, to the resistless force of our cause. It prevents the rulers of the world from drawing their swords. But let me proceed to what I really wanted to say.

If the President of the United States were to say to King Edward and Emperor William, "Let us keep the peace, and in case of any trouble between either two of our three countries let us not draw the sword until we have had an investigation by an impartial third party, be it power, commission, or court"—if, I say, President Taft were to make a formal proposal of this nature and those two great monarchs were to grasp the outstretched hand, what would be the result? It would signify the end of war.

If this utterance should be published, I want it understood that it was made, not at a meeting of the unsophisticated by a "demagogue of peace," but at a conference of experts by one who knows what he is talking about. The distinguished members of this assemblage know that if the Government of the United States saw fit to take this course, the other two nations would be only too willing to join hands with us, and they also know that all other powers would readily follow suit.

While we may differ as to whether the nations should first establish a system of international justice and then proceed to disarmament, or whether we should first reduce armaments and then establish law and order in place of the present state of anarchy in international relations, or strive for both reforms simultaneously, we are all headed for the same goal and we are all agreed that peace should be maintained and its permanency guaranteed by law rather than by force, and its breach guarded against by binding international agreements. In other words, both the advocates of disarmament and the friends of arbitration are after identically the same result, and will not fall out over the means to bring it about.

I shall not now speculate as to what the effect of President Taft's redeeming act would be. Suffice it to say that, as compared with its beneficent consequences, every event in the history of the human race would fade into insignificance. It would mean the emancipation of mankind from one of its greatest scourges and the dawn of a new epoch in the history of civilization, and posterity would, amidst the plaudits of the whole human family, adorn the brow of our President with the wreath of immortality.

It may well be asked why, if it is so easy, no President has yet undertaken to thus substitute peace by lawful agreement for peace by force? A book could be written to answer this question. In a word, conditions were not ripe. The burden of militarism, though oppressively great, had not become unbearable in either England or Germany, and we ourselves had not been spending 60 per cent. of our total revenue for war, as we do now. But there is another even more potent reason. Water does not rise above its source. Governments cannot take the risk of marching too far ahead of the procession of the governed, and the masses of the people here and elsewhere lacked enlightenment. Their justifiable

prejudice in favor of the old order of things would not allow their eyes to be opened to the revelations of the new, revelations which, after all, emanated only from the inspiration of the few. Yet we know that great reforms must always come from the source of power, the people; they are rarely, if ever, handed down by those in authority, but must be handed up to the rulers by the people. While this is much easier in a democracy than in monarchies, and while, therefore, the initiative in this great movement should be taken by the United States, yet up to this time the voice of the people lacked that force and unanimity which alone can prompt governments to act.

Hence our duty is clear. We must give organized expression to the popular will. We must satisfy President Taft that the majority of the American people will applaud and the great heart of the nation will beat for his new policy of emancipation. Therefore we should organize for peace in every congressional district and every State of the Union after the fashion of the so-called Navy League in Germany with this difference: While the members of the German Navy League are pledged to support the government in its policy to steadily increase the navy, the members of the American Peace League must pledge themselves to support the Government in its policy to establish a lawful peace, such as will be inviolate and secure as well from the transgressions of arbitrary power as from the passions of the people. Goethe said man is but an animal with a soul. While the Navy League appeals to the animal, let our Peace League appeal to the soul in man. As I said before, there should be a peace organization in every congressional district to make its influence felt with all the candidates for the National Legislature. These district organizations should then merge into State organizations, and finally into a great national body, whose power and influence will tend to shape legislation along peace lines and make Representatives, Senators, and even Presidents, sit up and take notice. Business is with us because it cannot prosper except in times of peace; labor is with us because it bears the burden and foots the bill of war; the farmer is with us because war decimates his customers and devastates the fruit of his labor; but, after all, these are only material considerations. The great and overshadowing moral reason why every well-meaning man and woman is with us is that, in the language of Victor Hugo, "Peace is the virtue and war the crime of civilization." So it will be an easy task to convince the President and his counselors that "we are coming, Father William, many millions strong."

To those of us who are familiar with the progress of the cause of international justice and peace the evidence already at hand as to the world's sentiment regarding it seems even now sufficient to warrant a bold dash, by any democratic government, for final re-

sults. Two Hague conferences have met within the last ten years, and a third one has been agreed upon. Through these international councils all the governments of the world have been committed to the principle of arbitration, aye, even obligatory arbitration, and to the maintenance of a permanent tribunal of arbitral justice, a world Supreme Court. It is absolutely safe to construe this action of the allied nations as a mandate for further practical steps in the new arena of world politics. But this is not all. The national legislative bodies of the world have combined and formed an Interparliamentary Union to strive for permanent peace by arbitration, and already more than 2,000 members of the parliaments, in the American Congress more than one-half the total membership, belong to that great organization which, since its birth twenty years ago, has already held fifteen international conferences. Of the seven meetings of this union of lawmakers held during the last ten years I have had the honor to attend six as an American delegate, namely, those of Christiania, 1899; Vienna, 1903; St. Louis, 1904; Brussels, 1905; London, 1906, and Berlin, 1908, and I speak from personal observation when I say that enlightened Europe expects the United States to speak the redeeming word. The statesmen of that continent are convinced of our disinterestedness and righteousness, and are, therefore, willing to confide in and trust us. Held by monarchs in the iron grasp of militarism, they cannot free themselves and look to democracy for salvation. They are fully conscious of the power, wealth, and resources of the United States, as well as of our superior ability to compete in armaments with any other country; hence the olive branch held out by an American President would not be regarded as an emblem of fear or weakness, but rather as an evidence of both our superior greatness and our genuine love of justice and peace. And permit me to add that as far as I know the state of the public mind in the larger countries of Europe from personal contact with their representative men, no monarch could or would reject an American offer of any practical peace agreement.

Assured, then, of a cordial reception by Great Britain and Germany of our peace-offering, and of its enthusiastic approval by an enlightened public sentiment, here as well as abroad, and conscious of its inestimable benefits to the whole human family, the United States has a mission to perform, as well defined as it is sublime. It seems to have been reserved to a President who is in himself the embodiment of the majesty of law, and is, therefore, peculiarly well equipped to give to the reign of law that wider scope which would include the relations between governments and peoples. To him it will plainly appear as the manifest destiny of law. The gradual extension of its rule from families to communities, from communities to provinces, from provinces to

States, and from States to interstate and world-wide relations, so that the conduct of nations towards each other may be regulated the same as the conduct of individuals, is an evolution as inevitable as is the progress of civilization itself. The task, we are confident, will appeal most strongly to the eminent jurist who is now Chief Magistrate of the American nation. And if he can be prevailed upon to repeat the immortal words of one of his predecessors, "Let us have peace," adding a new and world-wide significance to them, the lustre of his name would be reflected to all the ages to come and his immortal fame would be more securely assured than if he were the hero of a hundred battlefields.

A crisis is upon us. The nations, in wild alarm, are taking counsel of fear, and a suicidal rivalry in armaments is equally exhausting the resources of all without changing their relative strength in the least. The people are groaning both under the insufferable burden and the growing danger of war, and, realizing that there can neither be genuine liberty nor real happiness as long as this condition lasts, their eyes are turned hopefully to Washington, where once an emancipator, by one stroke of the pen, struck the shackles from four million slaves. The hour of a new emancipation has struck. Will another President immortalize himself by emancipating all mankind from the thraldom of war? May an affirmative answer be recorded at the next Conference at beautiful Mohonk Lake. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: We are now to hear from the editors, and will be addressed first by Mr. EDWARD J. WHEELER, editor of Current Literature.

WAR AND THE YELLOW NEWSPAPER

ADDRESS OF MR. EDWARD J. WHEELER

The last enemy to be conquered by the Mohonk Conference and by the various peace conferences throughout the country will be the yellow journal. The last engine of war to be converted wholly to the purposes of peace will be the Webb press. The last citadel where Bellona and Mars will make their final stand will be in the editorial sanctums of the country, and the last warrior who will be induced to forego his bloodthirstiness will be the warrior who sheds the gore of his fellow-beings by means of a fountain pen and a blue lead pencil.

I think that it is apparent to all students of national interests that the yellow press of our countries is one of the worst menaces that exists to the peace of the nations. We know that this country was to a very large extent forced into the war against Spain by the yellow press of the country. Those of us who have been reading the British journals of the last six or eight years know

that the present tension between that nation and Germany has been brought about to a very great extent by those journals over in London that have made it their mission in life during the last few years to teach distrust and suspicion of everything that Germany does. Now this is so not because the editors and the reporters are naturally any more bloodthirsty than other people. It is due rather to facts of human nature—not merely editorial nature, but human nature at large. For it is one of the facts that there is a special news interest about all forms of strife. That is why even the conservative press of the country devotes every day one or two pages to athletic contests. It is strife and it has a news interest and a dramatic value. That is why the muck-raker receives so much attention in season and out of season. That is why so large a space in the papers as well as in the magazines is devoted to politics, and that is why so much is devoted to crime. These things represent strife and strife has a news value, a dramatic interest, that the editors and reporters are not responsible for. You see the same thing on the stage. Every real drama of any power presents in every act and in every scene of every act a development of strife, of some sort of a contest. It has a dramatic value that nothing else has at the present stage of evolution. I know from personal experience how very difficult it is to give any real news value to an ordinary session of a Woman's Christian Temperance Union Convention! I have no doubt that there is a great deal of spiritual inspiration and exaltation in a Quaker meeting; but it has very little news value until some one from the outside wanders in and kicks up a row. If you want to know how the Lake Mohonk Conference could obtain wide-spread recognition from the daily press, I think I can tell you how. If my friend, Richard Watson Gilder, in his speech to-night, could possibly forget himself to such an extent as to call the distinguished Ambassador from China a "heathen Chinee" and Dr. Wu Ting Fang could possibly forget his urbanity and courtesy and respond, calling Mr. Gilder "an Occidental barbarian," and then the Occident and Orient should engage in a personal encounter, you would have reporters coming here from all directions on express trains, in automobiles, in spite of Mr. Smiley's injunction, in aeroplanes and dirigible balloons in order to get all the details.

In one of the most beautiful lyrics in the English language, Algernon Charles Swinburne has described, in one of the choruses in *Atalanta in Calydon,* the birth of Aphrodite. The chorus speaks about Aphrodite by her usual title of Mother of Love, and also refers to her as the Mother of Strife and demands to know what business she had being born in the midst of a placid sea, with the gentle zephyrs kissing the surface of the waters, when she ought ot have been born amid the tumult of wind and wave, with thunders rolling in the heavens, inasmuch as when she came into

the world she brought strife and tumult, the sacking of cities and the tread of armed troops. That poem, it seems to me, is true to life. We cannot have peace, universal peace, until all the passions of men and of women have been destroyed. We cannot have universal peace as long as we have love or jealousy or hatred or avarice or any of the other passions or prejudices that are in frail human nature.

Well, what then? Is the Mohonk Conference looking forward to some impractical Utopia? Or are we after something we are unable to realize until human nature has been changed and the world made over again? Not at all, for I call your attention to the fact that this is not a conference of universal peace; this is a conference of international arbitration. Now universal peace and international arbitration are two very different things. It is true that peace is the dream and the hope that probably animates all of us here and gives us an impetus to the work being done at this place; but because the mariner steers his course by the North Star, that does not mean that he expects to throw his cable around one of the stellar protuberances a little later on and moor his ship up against the star! While we have a dream and hope of ultimate peace, yet we are striving for something that is practical and possible of realization and at a not very great distance of time. The wise and practical mind that set these conferences on foot years ago saw that, and has not steered us into pursuit of something that is a mere dream of idealism! (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The discussion will be continued by Mr. FRANK CHAPIN BRAY, editor of the Chautauqua Publications.

HOME EDUCATION REGARDING THE FRIENDSHIP OF NATIONS

ADDRESS OF MR. FRANK CHAPIN BRAY

In the course of a number of personal interviews with leading Progressives in England and on the Continent last spring, two phases of opinion regarding peace propaganda came out. Both were interesting because they made the same point, namely, that the United States must take the lead in securing world organization for peace, if that is ever to come, and that to take such leadership the United States should by every possible means educate itself. They did not mean to say that they expected Uncle Sam to try to lead Emperor William and King Edward up to the peace trough and make them drink, nor that they considered us prepared to lead as yet. They did mean to suggest that to us was the opportunity given and upon us was the duty imposed to fit ourselves to lead the world toward peace. The two phases of

opinion to which I have referred were expressed by the We-Can't-Do-Its and the You-Must-Do-Its.

The We-Can't-Do-Its said: You Americans may not easily understand why no European power can really assume the lead or allow any other European power to assume the lead, but such is the fact. A congeries of jealousies, race antagonisms, legacies of wars, caste, environment, traditions, history, complicate the problem to distraction. Some went so far as to suggest that there might be a danger in extending peace propaganda too openly throughout Europe, so many European ruling families are interrelated by marriage and mutually vested as monarchs. Suppose they should compact for peace as a kind of popular concession to their subjects merely to intrench themselves more strongly than ever against encroachments of democratic institutions on their prerogatives? No, you cannot be expected to understand European conditions, the growth of centuries, off hand, and demand of us what we cannot do.

The You-Must-Do-Its said: With the United States it's different. You are free to take a comparatively disinterested initiative among nations on the principle of the greatest good to the greatest number, on the principle of the intrinsic merits of the cause of peace itself. You are equally free to educate your sovereign people to the point of taking such leadership intelligently and maintaining it. We look to you for that education and leadership as a democratic people which will in time react upon and help to educate our European populace toward peace *along with* social progress. I wondered whether the European mind understood us better than we did ourselves or was merely idealizing us.

I have paraphrased the substance of a half-dozen interviews with editors, public and professional men in order to present a foreign point of view that was at least interesting. They were extraordinarily interested to know about every counteracting influence to unthinking, misinformed and prejudiced opinion which has been organized among us. Education on both sides is obviously the constant need.

Toward the education of our own people, Chautauqua Institution, a system of popular education, has accomplished something which it is a pleasure to report in brief to this Conference.

The home reading branch of the Institution enrolls readers each year for a course consisting of four books and a monthly magazine of special character. These readers become members of classes in a four-years' course of reading, the larger proportion as individual readers, others grouping themselves in local circles, of which there are some 1,500 in all parts of this country and in several foreign lands. Approximately 10,000 readers are enrolled each year. Statistics have been compiled which show that a class of 25,000 readers will contain 7,250 men and 17,750

women. The ages will range from 15 to 80 years,—15,000 of them between 20 and 40. Almost every occupation will be represented, home-makers predominating, professional persons and salaried employees being represented in almost equal numbers. Chautauqua readers are thus the rank and file of our citizenship, persons who are willing to take some pains to become intelligent—who wish to keep abreast with the progress of thought on both sides of great questions of their time as far as educators and specialists can translate their professional lingo into plain English. In a word this is University Extension in the homes of the people. Many clubs and other organizations besides those which call themselves Chautauqua Circles use parts or all of the reading material in a given year; the magazine also circulates extensively in the popular magazine field emphasizing the Chautauqua Idea of Systematic Reading for Genuine Home Culture. Chautauqua Institution publishes and conducts the entire reading course on an educational budget not for private profit.

In 1905 we added an International Peace Day, May 18th, the Hague anniversary, to the list of Memorial Days recommended to classes for celebration during the year. The first request for a detailed program for an appropriate celebration came from the C. L. S. C. Department of a Woman's Club at Marshalltown, Iowa; the Circle at Belfast, Maine, sent in the first report of a celebration, and the Circle at East Corinth, Maine, was the first to arrange for a special Peace Sunday in December in addition to the May Peace Day.

A detailed program of exercises for the day was published for the use of Circles that year and new suggestive programs have been added each year since. A circular was also sent to circles asking them to discuss at their meetings and report answers to this question:

"If you had the responsibility of spending seven millions of dollars, the price of one battleship, how could you use it so as to express most widely the spirit of 'human brotherhood' put into practice?"

(This was the year in which we presented a study of European conditions under the title, "Social Progress in Europe" in which, of course, the burdens of armament necessarily were brought out.)

The variety of schemes reported indicated wide discussion and plenty of better things to spend the seven millions of dollars on. An Oklahoma set of suggestions was grouped to emphasize the need of "raising the standard of life." It was interesting to note several suggestions of endowment for amusements or recreation. The Circle at Kokomo, Indiana, invited ministers, business men, editors, college professors, and high school teachers to discuss the question and voted to devote the seven millions to (1) special

ministers of arbitration, (2) preservation and planting of forests, (3) industrial schools with scholarships, (4) good homes at fair prices for factory towns.

In the reading course for 1907 and 1908, our American Year of topics, we published John Graham Brooks's studies called "As Others See Us," a study of foreign criticism of American life and institutions,—a wholesome shower bath for overheated jingos; John R. Commons's "Races and Immigrants in America," a sane, broad expert study of the racial composition of the American people, also originally written for us; and an edition of "Newer Ideals of Peace" by Jane Addams, one of our General Educational Council, in which as you know, from her experience, she points out that we can learn from foreigners who are our fellow citizens if we only have the will to try, and points out the passing of the war virtues in an industrial civilization like our era. The character of these studies has subsequently become widely known in the general book field. They were first of all Chautauqua Course material calculated to educate readers toward that breadth of view and understanding among peoples and nations which is, if not a sixth sense, somewhat of a new sense, an International Sense, Twentieth Century Common Sense, let us say.

As prescribed readings thousands of persons who might not have chosen them from out the mass of publishers' products, actually did read them carefully and have them to-day in their home libraries. One who can read these three topics in succession as handled by Brooke, Commons, and Miss Addams without getting new visions of international possibilities of peaceful achievements for human kind must be exceedingly sodden.

Some curious reports were received. From Alabama came a letter, for example, saying: "I have tried an experiment as the result of my interest in 'Races and Immigrants.' I wrote a little play bringing in the various immigrants to be welcomed by Uncle Sam and Miss Columbia with provision for introducing patriotic songs and it is to be presented by the High School students at the close of the year. It's a good thing to have the young people establish firmly a friendly attitude toward foreigners. We have many Italians here who work in the mining plants. There are four of these plants which mine iron ore on the surface, so we already have the immigrant problem with us, and this old town has seen a good deal of American history. If only a little of Miss Addams' 'Newer Ideals of Peace' could have been put into public sentiment before our civil war, how much our country might have gained from the absence of that tragedy." We questioned whether our southern friend was not indulging in a wee bit of exaggeration. Oddly enough another Circle reporter born in reconstruction days, wrote almost identically the same sentiment: "That Civil War ought never to have been and if only a little of

Miss Addams' 'Newer Ideals of Peace' could have been put into public sentiment at that time it would not have been.

Three circles in an Iowa town met together to share in a Peace Day program and a banquet. Roll-call was responded to by recitations of an appropriate character. One member presented a review of Miss Addams' book,—the company sang Oliver Wendell Holmes' "Hymn of Peace," and in their new born enthusiasm for peace of all kinds the list of toasts at the banquet included: Peace in the Home, Peace in Women's Clubs, The Nobel Peace Prize, The Chile-Argentine Treaty, As Others See Us, and Peace Among Neighbors.

This year we felt that Chautauqua readers had been more or less educated up to an appreciation of the pros and cons of the world movement for the peaceful settlement of international difficulties. The subject was emphasized by lectures on the Summer Assembly program at Chautauqua last season. The first session of the Esperanto Association of North America was held at Chautauqua during that season and a second session will be held there this year. Whatever opinion one may have about the chances of Esperanto becoming a universal language, it is certain that Esperanto propagandists are among the most enthusiastic propagandists for international unity and brotherhood whom one can meet.

In the Chautauqua Reading Course for this year an edition of Reich's "Foundations of Modern Europe" gave our readers, in historical perspective, striking analyses of unvarnished causes of wars as well as emphatic statements of that prevalent opinion which declares the impossibility of a "United States of Europe." At the same time we projected as the leading magazine series of the home reading year a symposium of articles under the title "The Friendship of Nations: International Peace or War?" The list of titles and authors will best indicate the scope and character of this material:

The European Equilibrium and the Peace of the World, and Danger Points Around the Globe by Victor S. Yarros, foreign editor of the Chicago *Record-Herald;* The Story of the Peace Movement by Benjamin F. Trueblood, secretary of the American Peace Society; Armies the Real Promoters of Peace by Col. W. C. Church of the *Army and Navy Journal;* The Human Harvest by President David Starr Jordan; International Aspects of Socialism by A. N. Simons, editor *International Socialist Review;* What is International Law? by Henry Wade Rogers, dean of the Yale Law School; The Sanction of International Law by Elihu Root; Modern Economic Forces Against War by Charles A. Conant, the financial expert; The Family of Nations in Conference at the Hague by William I. Hull of Swarthmore; Internationalism as an Ideal for the Youth of America by W. T. Stead; The Litera-

ture of the Peace Movement by Edwin D. Mead, and A Peace Perspective by Edward Everett Hale.

As supplementary reading we had a Library Shelf Department of quotations from Andrew D. White on Hugo Grotius, the Founder of International Law; Baroness von Suttner's "Lay Down Your Arms," etc., reviews of books like Bloch's "Future of War," a description of the War and Peace Museum at Lucerne, and other miscellaneous articles and study suggestions grouped about the main topic.

Two weeks ago this questionaire was sent out:

To the President of the Chautauqua Circle:

In view of the interest which this month is centering about the Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration and the Second National Peace Congress, the editor of *The Chautauquan* asks for prompt reply on the accompanying return postcard, to the following questions:

1. Does your Circle intend to observe International Peace Day, May 18th?
2. If so what, in general, are your plans?
3. Have any of your members been able to attend the National Peace Congress in Chicago, May 3-5?
4. Have you held special Peace exercises at any time in past years? If so, when?

5 Have you arranged to publish in local papers any peace material such as that contained in *The Chautauquan* or in the pamphlets sent out by the Association for International Conciliation, already referred to in the Round Table, or have you in any way helped to give the Peace Movement publicity?

You will find it worth while to examine the very admirable article by Dr. Charles E. Jefferson, in the *Atlantic Monthly* for March, which has been reprinted by the Association for International Conciliation, 501 West 116th street, New York City. You can secure copies of this article without charge upon request.

A few typical replies only can be quoted.

JAMESTOWN, N. Y. "We have carefully considered the articles and have read supplementary articles on the subjects. However, we have done nothing further considering that while Mr. Roosevelt says 'the way to keep peace is to be prepared for war' and every nation is building 'Dreadnaughts' to the impoverishment of some, Peace Conferences are not very practical."

BUCKINGHAM, PA. "We shall have the Peace Day exercises. Have observed the day every year."

CRESTON. IA. "Our circle had a Peace Day program at the home of Mrs. ——— and invited the other Circles of the city to attend."

	"We follow the programs but have no public meetings."
Moosic, Pa.	"A sermon on the subject will be preached in our church on the preceding Sunday."
St. Louis, Mo.	"We shall send for copies of Dr. Jefferson's article and distribute them among our friends."
Colfax, Ill.	"Have used material for oration in high school contest."
Steelton, Pa.	"Expect to secure local publication of articles and notice Peace Day in my church (Presbyterian).
Peru, Ind.	"Our Circle will observe Peace Day, using articles from 'The Friendship of Nations' series. Our program is posted in the City Library."
Marion, Ala.	"I will have an article in the *Standard* (local paper)."
Coudersport, Pa.	"Have arranged to furnish three local papers with peace material for publication."

To further stimulate interest we made this suggestion for the closing program of the reading year in June: "Let every member try to work out a scheme for a 'United States of the World,' showing as many interesting possibilities which would result from such a Federation as his imagination can conjure up. The best one of the circle papers could be read and one or more published in the local paper." A premium reading course has been offered for the best paper (limited to 2,000 words) sent to us by any member.

Altogether it is safe to say that after this year of Chautauqua reading those of both sexes whom we call Chautauquans, could qualify as delegates to any war or peace conference which should insist on an educational qualification for voting.

We like to think that they have been getting the right kind of "preparation for war." Other kinds were described in "The Letters of a Japanese Schoolboy," you know, as follows: "When a gentleman are looking for Peace he buy a dash-hound, which are a sweet, low-down dog with a tame appetite. When a gentleman are looking for War he buy a bull-dog, which are a earnest mammal with a Roosevelt temperature. A nation hunting for Peace with a Navy are like a gentleman with a bull-dog trying to make friends. He might, but will he?" (Applause.)

The Chairman: The formal discussion of the evening will be closed by Dr. Richard Watson Gilder, editor of the *Century*.

THE PASSING OF WAR

ADDRESS OF DR. RICHARD WATSON GILDER

One must think ill indeed of mankind who holds that the heroes of war are praised merely because they kill. Ah no! Read the brief annals of Robert Shaw, how loath he was to go forth to battle at the head of a regiment of colored men; how solemn his self-surrender; with what heavy heart he turned his back on all that makes life dearest; how sacrificial his death, after a night of lonely musings—a true patriot's Gethsemane. Read his brief annals and say whether you think the noble monument of Saint Gaudens on Boston Common too magnificent a memorial of a beautiful soul enraptured of the Eternal.

It was not because he killed that we hold dear Washington the soldier, or Lee the great general,—never greater than in defeat,—or Lincoln the Commander-in-Chief. We remember that the fighter of land or sea—that the true-hearted sailor, private, or captain—dedicates his life to an idea, the idea of a cause, of a country, which is itself a cause. His blood is poured a willing sacrifice. He risks all for honor, for duty, for the idea. He is ready to suffer and to die.

We honor him in death; and if he lives we reward him with a nation's gratitude. We remember with praise not only the swift decision, the stern resolution, the fierce energy of battle, but the more trying heroism of a Valley Forge. We remember the soldierly generosity of the conqueror at Appomatox, and no less the dignity of the conquered. We remember the long years of agony of him, the tenderest heart that ever sent hundreds of thousands of fellow countrymen to bloody graves, and who did it for the sacred purpose of preserving for the New World and for humanity the everlasting boon of a free commonwealth.

Some of us in this room remember too well the days of heroic self-dedication in the time and circumstance of war to believe that war is always and altogether ignoble. Christ did indeed command that the sword should be put up, yet he himself it was that scourged the money-changers from the Temple, and at his supposed tomb to-day Turkish soldiers are required to keep Christians from tearing one another to pieces. Do not misunderstand me. War has two faces. One of them angelic; the other satanic. War may nourish virtues; but also it is the parent of every vice and cruelty under the sun.

It has been truly said that it is not necessary to preach the virtues of courage to the descendants of warriors—and such descendants we all are. The praise of battle heroes is in danger of being overdone. I am glad that it has been recognized at Washington, in the newly unveiled monument to Longfellow, that America has had at least one world-author. Perhaps in time it will be a matter

there of public record that America has had more than one such author. Let us see to it that not only our poets but our philosophers, jurists, statesmen, scientists, and all who have served greatly their fellow-men in the ways of peace are honored there in the same proportion as are already our great men of war.

Brave and well trained soldiers and sailors we will always need as a foreign and home police; but as the duel between individuals in civilized countries is gradually falling into disrepute, so in the evolution of humanity the time is approaching when it will cease to exist between nations that call themselves civilized.

War, in our day, represents very largely two things—swinish, national selfishness and inordinate national self-conceit. That is, it represents the insistence, at all hazards, upon some selfish national advantage, and it stands for the conviction that one's own view of a subject is the only view admissible. In the present state of science and public education as well as of intercommunication, such insistence and such conceit, while deeply human, are known to be unsocial, uncivilized and untenable. War, in our day, represents something else—namely, a disgraceful failure of statesmanship.

With the increasing cost of war, and of suspended war which we call an armed peace, and which some countries are carrying to-day to the point of international hari-kari; with the increase of trade in merchandise and in thought among the nations; and with the growth in its destructiveness, war becomes a most fearful and incongruous menace. In a word, war as a means of settling international disputes, is becoming more and more inconsistent with the economic conditions of our times, and with the growing solidarity of men and of peoples. Wars even among the most civilized nations are not likely soon to cease altogether; but as sure as time moves, war is doomed.

The various steps which are steadily leading to the extinction of war have been most interestingly recorded in this Conference, by the highest experts. There is just a single device looking toward such extinction which I have not heard mentioned: namely, international copyright. This act of justice between the nations is not a slight factor in the making of international good-will. America was late in doing justly by the authors of other countries; but some years ago, the authors of America, uniting with the publishers, prevailed upon the Congress to establish in law the moral principle involved in international copyright; and while America's method is not as liberal as that of some other nations, the Congress that lately adjourned greatly increased the privileges enjoyed by foreign writers in the United States.

In this connection, it should be noted with satisfaction that it is contemplated in the tariff bill before the present Congress to largely revise the tariff on Art. I wish the tariff might at once

be entirely removed, on all objects of genuine art, and it is to be hoped that with the advance of intelligence among our constituencies and our Congressmen this may yet be accomplished, but the removal which is proposed, with a limit of twenty years, is a great and notable advance. It tends definitely to international good feeling, and so to the peace of nations.

And may we not hope as, under such growingly favorable regulations, the various countries of the world not only do business together to a greater extent, but come to know better the mind and art and soul of each and all, it will be increasingly difficult for fools and demogogues to fan the flame of discord.

A hundred and fifty thousand of us went to see a Spaniard's pictures in their recent New York exhibition, and I know not how many hundreds of thousands saw them in other American cities. I do not think the sight of these gay and splendid canvases has stirred in our hearts a desire to do injury to the land of Cervantes and Sorolla. And is it not true that the more we know of the art and literature of China and Japan, of Italy and France, the Russians, the Germans, and our brethren the British, the less we will feel like dropping dynamite bombs from aerial cruisers into the peopled streets and the precious galleries and libraries of their capital cities; the more we will desire to substitute the methods of arbitration for the means of destruction.

Is established peace to be dull, tiresome, unheroic! Certainly not a reasonably, not insanely armed peace, wherein a League of some of the most powerful and civilized nations shall compel the recalcitrants to " keep the peace of the world." Such a peace might even afford amusement for a nature as fiery as that of our recent President, for there might be some of the fun of fight in it—strictly in the interest of permanent tranquility. Not dull should be a peace with a Supreme Court whose decrees would be enforced by the navies of the world. It will indeed be a long time before the habit of peaceful arbitration or the custom of adjudication by a world tribunal will be able to eliminate all opportunity for human heroism, and the sturdy virtues of every day life. Too easily the quick blow is praised, rather than the noble repression. There is much good and dangerous work to be done in this world without the waste and wounding of war. It will be a long day before it will be necessary to revive abolished war in order to restore mankind to a normal condition of bravery and endurance. And when it comes to that there are tribes of earth which have been fighting furiously for all the centuries and which do not seem to grow wiser or nobler by the process. If fighting alone were a means of grace the inhabitants of certain mountain districts of these United States should be among our most desirable citizens, and the population of the lowlands should be flocking there to learn

civilization from the feudists who prefer assassination to arbitration.

Not long ago a somewhat obscure poet put this idea of the heroism of peace briefly into rhyme and with your indulgence I will close these remarks by reading:

IN TIMES OF PEACE

'Twas said: "When roll of drum and battle's roar
Shall cease upon the earth, O, then no more
The deed, the race, of heroes in the land."
But scarce that word was breathed when one small hand
Lifted victorious o'er a giant wrong
That had its victims crushed through ages long;
Some woman set her pale and quivering face,
Firm as a rock, against a man's disgrace;
A little child suffered in silence lest
His savage pain should wound a mother's breast;
Some quiet scholar flung his gauntlet down
And risked, in Truth's great name, the synod's frown;
A civic hero, in the calm realm of laws,
Did that which suddenly drew a world's applause;
And one to the pest his lithe young body gave
That he a thousand thousand lives might save.

(Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair recognizes His Excellency, the Chinese Minister.

COMPULSORY ARBITRATION

REMARKS OF DR. WU TING FANG

Ladies and Gentlemen: I have to apologize for speaking the second time here, but after the statement I made at the conclusion of my address the other day and some remarks, or rather opinions expressed by subsequent speakers, I think it is proper that I should make a short explanation.

In the closing sentences of my address I expressed the hope that compulsory arbitration would soon become the law of nations. One or two subsequent speakers said that arbitration must be voluntary and cannot be compulsory. I find now that the proposition I made is ahead of the time. When Wilberforce proposed the opposition of slavery was it received with approbation? It was pooh-poohed, ridiculed as the dream of a dreamer: but it was carried out afterward. When the great President, Abraham Lincoln, proposed to give freedom to the negro race how was it received? It was said to be impractical, but it was done afterwards. So, therefore, Ladies and Gentlemen, I say that my proposition as to compulsory arbitration is a little ahead of the time; but let me say this, before a child can run, he must learn to

walk. It is natural that arbitration must be voluntary, at first, that it must be submitted by nations. But you know there are means of compelling them. It is now a law of nations not to supply coal to nations at war or allow them the ports as a basis of operations. One gentleman to-day advocated the international boycotting of nations engaged in war. These and similar means have the effect of compelling people to hesitate a little before they engage in war, and not to rush heedlessly into war without first thinking about arbitration.

You are a great nation. The United States has taken the lead in entering into arbitration treaties with different nations, and since I came here, last year, I had the privilege of concluding an arbitration treaty with your nation and it is now in operation. So, we are in a sense bound, in case of dispute between your nation and ours, to that arbitration treaty. It is hoped the time will soon come—and I hope you and I will see it,—when not only voluntary arbitration will be resorted to, but also compulsory arbitration will be the rule. Then there will be universal peace prevailing in the world, and all people living in brotherhood verified by our maxim in which Confucius said, "We are all brothers within the four seas!" (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now have the final report by the Business Committee of the Conference by its Chairman, PROF. KIRCHWEY.

PROF. KIRCHWEY: The report of the Committee will be exceedingly brief in deference to the lateness of the hour. Two matters have been brought forward, which I am requested to announce,—one of them merely a matter of news, and the other calling for action on the part of the Conference.

The item of news is that the International and Universal Peace Congress this year will meet in Stockholm, the end of August and the first week in September; it is highly desirable that as many of the friends of arbitration as find themselves in Europe and in the vicinity of Stockholm at that time shall present themselves and participate in its proceedings.

The Conference will recall that at its first meeting on Wednesday, Prof. Samuel T. Dutton of Columbia University, proposed the formation of a National Council of Peace and Arbitration. The suggestion was referred to the Business Committee and the Business Committee referred it for consideration to a sub-committee, to confer with Prof. Dutton. After careful consideration of the matter I am asked to report the following resolution and to move its adoption:

Resolved, That the President of this Conference be authorized to appoint in the near future a Committee of Ten, of which he shall be one, to consider the advisability of a National Council for Arbitration and Peace; the

determination of the number, constitution, and work of the Council being subject to the discretion of the Committee.

The resolution was unanimously adopted by the Conference.

THE CHAIRMAN: Dr. LYMAN ABBOTT, of New York.

REMARKS OF DR. LYMAN ABBOTT

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: Those of you who have been attending these conferences for many years cannot but to-night remember one who will never meet with us again in the body,—Dr. Samuel J. Barrows,—whose consecration to his service, whose spirit of humanity, whose broad experience and whose common sense made him always a wise counsellor and a trusted leader. It has seemed to some of us that at least this brief recognition of his memory and his name was fitting before we separate.

But I have arisen for another purpose also, to perform a difficult and yet a glad duty; to speak not to you but for you, and in my own name and in yours to express our thanks to Mr. Smiley and his brother and their wives for that which has been rendered to us.

I shall not speak of the beauty of the scenery; I shall not speak of the beauty of the house, or of the comfort that comes perilously near being dangerous luxury, nor of the joy of our temporary companionships here, nor of the rest that we get. If you wish to know, Mr. Smiley, what I think of these things, look back at past reports and read what other men have said and believe that we say those things over again.

My own gratitude is for another cause. I sometimes think that we hardly realize how great and fundamental a task we are engaged in: we say it is the substitution of law for war; but it is much more than that. War never settled a question of justice in all human history. It has settled some questions justly, but never a question of justice. All that war can ever do or ever has done is to settle which of two powers is the more powerful. The surrender of Lord Cornwallis did not prove that Great Britain had no *right* to tax America: it simply proved Great Britain was not strong enough to tax America. The surrender of General Lee at Appomatox Court House did not prove that a state had no *right* to nullify a law of the United States; it proved no state had the *power* to nullify a law of the United States.

What we are trying to do is not merely to change the method by which questions between nations shall be settled: what we are trying to do is to change the questions themselves, to substitute for the old question, *What is the greater power?* the new question, *Which has justice on its side?*

What is this controversy that we hear about between Germany and England? Is it a question which of these powers is right?

Why, there is no question of righteousness between them at all; no question has arisen. Germany is afraid England will be more powerful than Germany; England is afraid Germany will be more powerful than England! Each country fears the other and each is adding to its armaments: what for? That it may maintain its justice? No, that it may maintain its strength.

What we are trying here to do is to substitute for the old question, What is power? the new question, Where is justice? It is sometimes said that we cannot change human nature. That is what we here are trying to do. We are trying to change human nature; to change the point of view; to make our children see, to make our fellow-countrymen see, and what is most difficult of all, to make ourselves see that the question of justice is always more important than the question of power. What we are trying to do is to erase from the world the motto, *Might makes right,* and write in its place that, through God, Right makes might! (Applause.)

Now I thank Mr. Smiley that he has called me here to take part in so great a service as this. I thank Mr. Smiley because he has pointed to me the door of so great an opportunity; because by bringing us together and creating our own opinion, and then by reflection and echo creating the opinion of others he has made possible this world change which we are endeavoring to accomplish. For I venture to say that Mr. Lynch with all his invective against the apathy of a sleeping church could not awaken the church by his own eloquence; and Dr. Brooks, with all the power of his oratory could not alone awaken his state to the patriotism of peace; and our honored Chairman, born diplomat and cultivating the gift that is within him, could not have accomplished what he has accomplished in the interest of peace if he had not had a public sentiment behind him. And Mr. Smiley, by the creation of this Mohonk Conference, is opening to men the door of opportunity, into which single-handed they could not have entered. One man, says the sacred writer, shall chase a thousand; two men shall put ten thousand to flight. There are three hundred here—I wonder how many we can put to flight?

I thank Mr. Smiley for the companionship he gives me, and when next time I sit down to write a peace editorial—and once in a while I do, notwithstanding what my friendly critics say—I shall feel stronger because I know of kinsfolk beyond the sea, not only Anglo-Saxon and German, but those remoter kinsfolk from China and Japan, all working for the same end, animated by the same spirit, seeking the same great results—Peace on earth, good-will toward men,—and for myself and in your name I thank him for the new inspiration and new courage which you and I will take away from this Conference, to go back to our work, each one of us in his place, to hasten that glad day.

So, Sir, in their name and in my own I thank you, not only for the beautiful scenery and the beautiful home and the warm welcome and the glad hours,—but for the great door of opportunity which you have opened before us, the great service to which you have called us, the great companionship to which you have introduced us, and the great heart of courage with which you endow us. (Applause.)

Mrs. LAVERNE W. NOYES of Chicago, being recognized by the Chairman, read an original poem prepared by her during the Conference and expressing the thanks and appreciation of the ladies of the Conference. The poem, which was excellently written and finely rendered, was received with applause.

Mr. Smiley then responded to Dr. Abbott and Mrs. Noyes.

RESPONSE BY MR. SMILEY

These very kind expressions of Dr. Abbott and Mrs. Noyes touch me deeply. Somebody said in my hearing, two days ago, "At the end of this Conference, Mr. Smiley will say that it is the best Conference we have ever had!" That man knew what we were going to have. It *is* the best Conference. I know most of you feel so; I have heard many say so.

I have never felt so strongly as I have to-day the satisfaction which I have had from calling this Conference for fifteen successive years. It has proven much better than I anticipated. When we began this Conference we were called blind enthusiasts and the papers took but little notice of us, except in ridicule. To-day we receive press notices all over the country of the splendid speeches which are made here. That is a great gain, and it gives me intense satisfaction that the public are beginning to appreciate the importance of the subject which has claimed our attention.

We have had here some very able men, men who command confidence not only in this country, but in Europe and Asia as well. I am especially pleased to see so many of our friends from other nations. I think it highly important that we should have at this and future Conferences many representatives from across the sea, and I most devoutly hope that next year we may have more of just such men as we have here to-night, from England, Germany, China, Japan, South America ,and other countries. I wish any of you who know of prominent men in any other nations would write to us, sending us their names, and we will endeavor to get them here to our next meeting.

I hope each of you will go away from this Conference as I have no doubt you will, with a spirit of work; do something during the year in the line of international arbitration, and together we can

exert a tremendous influence from one end of this country to the other. Good night. (Applause.)

Dr. W. F. Slocum, President of Colorado College, moved a vote of thanks to the Presiding Officer, the Business Committee, and the other officers of the Conference who had assisted in the preparation and carrying out of the program. The motion was received with applause and unanimously adopted.

The Chairman responded as follows:

CLOSING REMARKS OF THE CHAIRMAN

On behalf of those who have really managed the affairs of the Conference, as well as of those who may have appeared to do so, I offer you an expression of grateful thanks for the resolution which has been adopted. A very significant remark was made by my colleague, the Chairman of the Business Committee, this morning, when he remarked that in the business of this Conference, "the shallows murmur, while the deeps are dumb!" There are a good many of us in evidence here who are much less to be credited with what has happened than some very quiet and modest men who have been entirely in the background. I am sure without going so far as to mention names, you will appreciate what we all owe to those who are permanently in the service of this Conference, and to those who, on the Business Committee, have given hours to careful deliberation and planning in order to make this Conference the success it has been.

I cannot close this Conference without an expression of deep personal gratification at the long step forward in the education of public opinion that this Fifteenth Annual Conference marks. No one who has read the proceedings of previous conferences, no one who has watched the development of difficult questions and the education of opinion concerning them, will fail to see that this year by unanimous consent we have come on to new and higher and clearer ground. In the clear, succinct and precise declaration adopted this morning, we have set before our fellowcountrymen, not only a program—but a program entirely practicable and certainly wise. That that should have been accomplished by three hundred men and women coming together from all parts of the country, representing views of every kind, but animated by the common purpose to prosecute with vigor the education of public opinion and governmental action, to bring about the substitution of justice for force,—that is an achievement well worth recording and dwelling upon, and which may well lead our distinguished and generous host to express his keen satisfaction with the gathering which is about to close. I should like to add my single word of gratitude to him. I do not speak of his hospitality,—that sur-

rounds us on every side,—but I do speak of his splendid spirit of service and his great practical wisdom in guiding us in the study of this profound public problem. He may well rest content and in the language of the famous inscription in St. Paul's, "If he needs or seeks a monument, let him look about him." (Applause.)

The Conference will please rise and join in singing the closing hymn, "God Be With You Till We Meet Again."

After the singing of the hymn, the Fifteenth Annual Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration was adjourned without date.

MEMBERS PRESENT AT THE CONFERENCE

Abbott, Dr. Lyman, *The Outlook,* New York.
Allen, Rev. F. B. and Mrs., 1 Joy St., Boston.
Amen, Harlan P., Exeter, N. H.
Ansel, Hon. M. F. and Mrs., Executive Mansion, Columbia, S. C.

Bacon, Hon. Robert, 1 Park Ave., New York.
Bailey, Hon. John M. and Mrs., 118 Lancaster St., Albany, N. Y.
Baily, Joshua L., 32 S. 15th St., Philadelphia.
Baker, Hon. J. Allen, M. P., London, England.
Baker, O. M. and Mrs., Springfield, Mass.
Baldwin, Hon. Simeon E., State Supreme Court, New Haven, Conn.
Bancroft, William P. and Mrs., Wilmington, Del.
Bartholdt, Hon. Richard, M. C., St. Louis, Mo.
Bartlett, Rev. A. Eugene, 691½ Washington Boulevard, Chicago.
Batchelder, H. M. and Mrs., Boston.
Batchelor, Rev. George, *The Christian Register,* Boston.
Bauer, Ralph S. and Mrs., Lynn, Mass.
Beals, Rev. Charles E. and Mrs., Boston.
Beaman, Middleton G., Supreme Court Library, Washington, D. C.
Bishop, Rev. Samuel, 500 West 122d St., New York.
Blair, Prof. F. S., Guilford College, N. C.
Bobbitt, L. B., 1010 Mosher St., Baltimore, Md.
Bours, W. A., Jacksonville, Fla.
Bowles, Rev. Gilbert, 246 Vine St., Elizabeth, N. J.
Bracq, Prof. J. C. and Mrs., Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
Brainerd, Cephas and Mrs., 30 West 46th St., New York.
Bray, Frank Chapin and Mrs., *The Chautauquan,* 23 Union Sq., New York.
Brodie, Rev. Dr. A. M. and Mrs., Watertown, N. Y.
Brooks, Dr. S. P., Baylor University, Waco, Texas.
Brown, Rev. Dr. Arthur J. and Mrs., 156 Fifth Ave., New York.
Brown, Dr. Elmer Ellsworth and Mrs., Bureau of Education, Washington, D. C.
Brown, Rev. W. Adams and Mrs., 114 East 30th St., New York.
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James, British Embassy, Washington, D. C.
Buchanan, Hon. William I. and Mrs., 34 Gates Circle, Buffalo, N. Y.
Burnham, George Jr., Philadelphia.
Butler, Dr. Nicholas Murray, Columbia University, New York.

Calderon, Senor Don Ignacio, Bolivian Legation, Washington, D. C.
Calvert, Rev. Dr. John B. and Mrs., *The Examiner,* New York.
Campbell, Peter and Mrs., Newark, N. J.
Church, Dr. A. B., Buchtel College, Akron, O.
Church, Lieut.-Col. William C. and Mrs., 51 Irving Pl., New York.
Clark, Rev. Dr. Francis E. and Mrs., Boston.
Clark, John Murray, 70 Tranby Ave., Toronto, Canada.
Clark, R. Floyd, 37 Wall St., New York.
Clearwater, Hon. A. T., Kingston, N. Y.
Collins, Richard S. and Mrs., 117 East 61st St., New York.
Costabel, Rev. V. Alberto, Milan, Italy.
Cutting, R. Fulton and Mrs., 24 East 67th St., New York.

DANA, REV. DR. S. H., Exeter, N. H.
DEAN, LUTHER L. and MRS., L. L. Dean & Co., Amsterdam, N. Y.
DENNIS, WILLIAM C., Department of State, Washington, D. C.
DICKSON, A. W., Scranton, Pa.
DOUGLAS, HON. W. W. and MRS., State Supreme Court, Providence, R. I.
DRAPER, DR. ANDREW S. and MRS., Department of Education, Albany, N. Y.
DUDLEY, COL. EDGAR S., West Point, N. Y.
DUNNING, REV. DR. A. E., *The Congregationalist,* Boston.
DUTTON, PROF. SAMUEL T. and MRS., Teachers' College, New York.

EASTMAN, REV. S. E., Elmira Chamber of Commerce, Elmira, N. Y.

FARQUHAR, DR. A. B., York, Pa.
FAUNCE, REV. DR. W. H. P., Brown University, Providence, R. I.
FITZGERALD, HON. R. R., Charlottetown, P. E. Island, Canada.
FOXCROFT, FRANK and MRS., *The Living Age,* Boston.
FRISBIE, HON. DANIEL D. and MRS., Middleburgh, N. Y.
FULK, GEO., Cerro Gordo, Ill.

GILDER, DR. RICHARD WATSON, *The Century,* New York.

HALL, REV. DR. HECTOR, Troy, N. Y.
HALLOCK, REV. DR. J. N. and MRS., *The Christian Work and Evangelist,* New York.
HARBOUR, J. L., 3 Bowdoin Ave., Dorchester, Mass.
HARRIS, H. RICHARD and MRS., The Clinton, Philadelphia.
HARVEY, WILLIAM S., Philadelphia Commercial Museum, Philadelphia.
HENSON, REV. HERBERT HENSLEY, Westminster Abbey, London, England.
HIBBARD, PROF. BENJAMIN H., Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa.
HIGGINS, A. FOSTER and MRS., 100 Broadway, New York.
HILL, FRANK P. and MRS., Brooklyn Public Library, Brooklyn.
HINCKLEY, GEO. H., 55 Pine St., Portland, Me.
HOBBS, DR. L. L., Guilford College, N. C.
HOLT, HAMILTON, *The Independent,* New York.
HOOKER, ELON H., 40 Wall St., New York.
HORWOOD, EDWARD H. and MRS., Hoboken, N. J.
HOWARD, PROF. WALTER E. and MRS., Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vt.
HOWLAND, WILLIAM B., *The Outlook,* New York.
HOYT, ALBERT and MRS., Antwerp, N. Y.
HOYT, ALBERT E. and MRS., *The Argus,* Albany, N. Y.
HUNTER, DEXTER and MRS., 268 State St., Albany, N. Y.

JACKSON, HON. FREDERICK H., 130 Prospect St., Providence, R. I.
JEFFERSON, REV. DR. CHARLES E. and MRS., Broadway Tabernacle Church, New York.
JOHNSON, A. L. and MRS., Board of Trade, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.
JONES, RUFUS M., Haverford, Pa.
JONES, WILLIAM B. and MRS., Albany, N. Y.
JOSIKA-HERCZEG, IMRE and MRS., 28 West 10th St., New York.
JUDSON, DR. HARRY P. and MRS., University of Chicago, Chicago.

KELSEY, CHARLES E. and MRS., *The Youth's Companion,* Boston.
KENNEDY, JAMES S., Waltham, Mass.
KENNEDY, JOHN B. and MRS., Box 97, New Haven, Conn.
KEPPEL, F. P., Columbia University, New York.
KING, GEN. HORATIO C. and MRS., 46 Willow St., Brooklyn.
KIRBY, PAUL L., Washington, D. C.

KIRCHWEY, DR. GEO. W. and MRS., Columbia University Law School, New York.
KLINE, MAHLON N. and MRS., 429 Arch St., Philadelphia.
KOHT, DR. HALVDAN, Nobel Institute, Christiania, Norway.
KOO, V. K. WELLINGTON, ———, China. (Temporary address "Columbia University, New York.")
KUHN, ARTHUR K., 308 West 92d St., New York.

LALANNE, FRANK D. and MRS., 214 Chestnut St., Philadelphia.
LAMBERT, MAJ. WILLIAM H. and MRS., W. Johnson St., Germantown, Pa.
LANDER, JOHN B., *The Globe,* New York.
LAPHAM, HON. OSCAR and MRS., 183 Waterman St., Providence, R. I.
LE FEVRE, HON. FRANK J. and MRS., New Paltz, N. Y.
LEVERING, EUGENE and MRS., 1308 Eutaw Pl., Baltimore, Md.
LORENTZEN, PROF. CARL and MRS., New York University, New York.
LYNCH, REV. FREDERICK and MRS., The Pilgrim Church, New York.

M'CARROLL, HON. WILLIAM, New York Public Service Commission, New York.
MCDONALD, EDGAR and MRS., Nassau National Bank, Brooklyn.
MACGILL, C. C. and MRS., Board of Trade, Baltimore, Md.
MCKENNEY, FREDERICK D., 1336 New Hampshire Ave., Washington, D. C.
MACLAREN, HON. J. J., Ontario Court of Appeals, Toronto, Canada.
MCPHERSON, PROF. J. H. T., University of Georgia, Athens, Ga.
MAHONY, W. A. and MRS., 273 State St., E., Columbus, O.
MARDEN, O. S. and MRS., *Success,* New York.
MEAD, EDWIN D. and MRS., 39 Newbury St., Boston.
MESTREZAT, HON. S. LESLIE, Pennsylvania Supreme Court, Philadelphia.
MIDZUNO, HON. KOKICHI and MME., Japanese Consulate General, New York.
MILLS, PROF. H. E. and MRS., Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
MITCHELL, DR. S. C. and MRS., Richmond College, Richmond, Va.
MOORE, HON. JOSEPH B., State Supreme Court, Lansing, Mich.
MORRIS, ELLISTON P. and MRS., 5442 Germantown Ave., Philadelphia.
MOSELY, ALFRED, ESQ., Union Bank Bldg., Ely Pl., London, E. C., England.
MOWRY, DR. W. A., 17 Riverside Sq., Hyde Park, Mass.
MOXOM, REV. DR. P. S. and MRS., Springfield, Mass.
MURPHY, DANIEL B., Rochester, N. Y.
MURRAY, CHARLES B. and MRS., 124 Government Pl., Cincinnati, O.

NASMYTH, GEO. W., 110 Highland Pl., Ithaca, N. Y.
NEILL, HON. CHARLES P., Bureau of Labor, Washington, D. C.
NORTH, DR. FRANK M. and MRS., 121 West 122d St., New York.
NOYES, LA VERNE W. and MRS., National Business League of America, Chicago.

OLDS, CLARK and MRS., Chamber of Commerce, Erie, Pa.

PAINE, GEORGE M. and MRS., Oshkosh, Wis.
PAINE, HON. ROBERT TREAT, 6 Joy St., Boston.
PARTRIDGE, HON. FRANK C and MRS., Proctor, Vt.
PATCH, A. WARREN, 17 N. Market St., Boston.
PHILLIPS, H. C. and MRS., Mohonk Lake, N. Y.
PLATT, EDMUND P. and MRS., Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
POTTER, HON. W. P., State Supreme Court, Philadelphia.
PUGSLEY, HON. C. A. and MRS., Peekskill, N. Y.
PUGSLEY, CHESTER DEWITT, Peekskill, N. Y.

Ralston, Hon. J. H. and Mrs., Washington, D. C.
Reed, Dr. Geo. E. and Mrs., Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa.
Richardson, Charles and Mrs., 1307 Spruce St., Philadelphia.
Robinson, Rev. J. H. and Mrs., White Plains, N. Y.
Rogers, Dr. William P., University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O.
Root, Robert C., 414 Severance Building, Los Angeles, Cal.
Ryan, Hon. W. H. and Mrs., Buffalo, N. Y.

Schaeffer, Dr. N. C. and Mrs., Harrisburgh, Pa.
Scott, Dr. Geo. Winfield, Columbia University, New York.
Scott, Hon. James Brown, State Department, Washington, D. C.
Scovel, Rev. Dr. Sylvester F., Wooster, O.
Scudder, Myron T. and Mrs., New Brunswick, N. J.
Sellers, Coleman, Jr. and Mrs., 1600 Hamilton St., Philadelphia.
Shepherd, Prof. William R. and Mrs., Columbia University, New York.
Shippen, Joseph and Mrs., 627 New York Block, Seattle, Wash.
Short, William H., 507 Fifth Ave., New York.
Slocum, Dr. William F., Jr., Colorado College, Colorado Springs, Colo.
Smiley, Sarah, 2022 F St. N. W., Washington, D. C.
Smiley, Albert K., Mohonk Lake, N. Y.
Smiley, Daniel and Mrs., Mohonk Lake, N. Y.
Smith, Elias D., Board of Trade, Elizabeth, N. J.
Smith, T. Guilford and Mrs., 203 Ellicott Sq., Buffalo, N. Y.
Stalker, Dr. M., Ames, Iowa.
Stanley, Rev. Frederick J., Newburgh, N. Y.
Steele, Hiram R. and Mrs., 32 Liberty St., New York.
Stillman, Dr. W. O., 287 State St., Albany, N. Y.
Stiness, Hon. John H. and Mrs., 210 Governor St., Providence, R. I.
Stockton, Rear Admiral C. H. and Mrs., 2019 O St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Stoddard, Rev. Dr. C. A., 300 West 72d St., New York.
Stone, I. L. and Mrs., Battle Creek, Mich.
Stowell, Dr. Ellery C., George Washington University, Washington, D. C.
Strong, Rev. Dr. A. H., Theological Seminary, Rochester, N. Y.
Stryker, Rev. Dr. M. W. and Mrs., Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y.
Sutton, Geo. H. and Mrs., 374 Main St., Springfield, Mass.

Talcott, James, 7 West 57th St., New York.
Tatman, Charles T. and Mrs., 390 Main St., Worcester, Mass.
Taylor, Dr. J. M. and Mrs., Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
Thwing, Rev. Dr. C. F. and Mrs., Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.
Tolman, Dr. William H., 105 East 22d St., New York.
Trueblood, Dr. Benjamin F., 31 Beacon St., Boston.
Tryon, Rev. James L., 31 Beacon St., Boston.
Tucker, William R., Philadelphia.

Van Arsdale, Rev. Dr. N. H., *The Christian Intelligencer,* New York
Van Kleeck, Henry and Mrs., 1269 Logan Ave., Denver, Colo.
Van Sickle, James H. and Mrs., 1519 Linden Ave., Baltimore, Md.
Van Slyke, Rev. Dr. J. G. and Mrs., Kingston, N. Y.
Von Lewinski, Hon. Karl, Berlin, Germany.

Wadhams, Hon. Frederick E. and Mrs., Albany, N. Y.
Walk, Miss Lina J., *The Christian Work,* New York.
Wambaugh, Prof. Eugene and Mrs., Harvard Law School, Cambridge, Mass.

Warfield, Dr. E. D., Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.
Wheeler, Edward J. and Mrs., *Current Literature*, New York.
White, Hon. Andrew D. and Mrs., Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
White, Dr. Henry C. and Mrs., University of Georgia, Athens, Ga.
Williams, Jno. J. and Mrs., 401 Clinton Ave., Brooklyn.
Williston, Prof. Samuel and Mrs., Harvard Law School, Cambridge, Mass.
Willoughby, Prof. W. W., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
Wilson, Andrew F. and Mrs., 629 Jefferson Ave., Brooklyn.
Wilson, James Grant and Mrs., 157 West 79th St., New York.
Wood, Alexander C. and Mrs., Camden, N. J.
Wood, James, Mt. Kisco, N. Y.
Woodruff, Clinton Rogers and Mrs., North American Bldg., Philadelphia.
Wright, Rev. Merle St. Croix and Mrs., 215 West 126th St., New York.
Wu Ting-Fang, Dr., Imperial Chinese Legation, Washington, D. C.
Wylie, Douglas M., 818 Park Ave., Baltimore, Md.

APPENDIX A

Correspondents of the Permanent Office of the Conference

(Since because of limited accommodations it is impossible for Mr. Smiley to invite more than a certain number of guests to any annual meeting, the Permanent Office of the Conference has recently attempted to provide opportunity for other friends of the movement to co-operate as "Correspondents." Those so enrolled receive all documents issued by the Conference as well as occasional bulletins from the Corresponding Secretary, and in return do such voluntary work in their respective communities as conditions will permit.)

List revised to July 15, 1909.

ALDEN, ALICE WIGHT, 182 N. El Molino Ave., Pasadena, Cal.
ALEXANDER, PROF. EBEN, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.
ALEXANDER, PROF. W. D., Box 732, Honolulu, Hawaii.
ALLEN, MISS ROSA S., Medfield, Mass.
AMES, DR. F. P., Rockland, O.
ANDREWS, MRS. FANNIE FERN, 405 Marlborough St., Boston, Mass.
ANDREWS, PROF. MARTIN R., Marietta College, Marietta, O.
ARNOLD, W. A., Vashti, Texas.
AVEN, MRS. A. J., Mississippi College, Clinton, Miss.

BAILEY, DR. GEORGE W., Witherspoon Bldg., Philadelphia, Pa.
BAILEY, H. A., York, Pa.
BALDWIN, DR. DANIEL PRATT, Logansport, Ind.
BANTA, J. EDWARD, Binghamton, N. Y.
BARBE, REV. J. G., Richmond College, Richmond, Va.
BARTLETT, REV. A. EUGENE, 691½ Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
BEACH, ELMER E., ESQ., Chicago, Ill.
BEEDE, FRANK H., New Haven, Conn.
BEERS, REV. ROBERT W., 419 Broadway, Somerville, Mass.
BELGUM, H. N., Valders, Wis.
BENZ, HERMAN, 188 Ellison St., Paterson, N. J.
BICKNELL, DR. THOMAS W., 254 Pleasant St., Providence, R. I.
BISHOP, E. C., State House, Lincoln, Neb.
BLACKSHEAR, DR. EDWARD L., State Normal and Industrial College, Prairie View, Texas.
BLAIR, FRANKLIN S., Guilford College, N. C.
BLAIR, WILLIAM A., Winston-Salem, N. C.
BOARDMAN, REV. SAMUEL W., D. D., 17 Washington Pl., Bloomfield, N. J.
BODINE, GEO. I., 129 South 4th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
BOGGESS, CAREY, Springfield, O.
BOLTON, REV. W. D., 1321 North 2d St., St. Joseph, Mo.
BOUGHTON, F. G., McMinnville College, McMinnville, Ore.
BROOKS, REV. WILLIAM M., D. D., 450 W. Palm Ave., Redlands, Cal.
BROWN, REV. CHARLES SUMNER, 2526 Bell Pl., Cincinnati, O.
BROWN, SAMUEL N., 47 Pearl St., Boston, Mass.
BRYAN, MRS. JENNIE S., Alexandria, La.
BUFFUM, SAMUEL, North Berwick, Me.

Cale, P. H., Corvoallis, Ore.
Carfray, J. H., 120 W. Chestnut St., Wakefield, Mass.
Carlton, Prof. Frank T., Albion College, Albion, Mich.
Carroll, Clarence F., 8 Girton Pl., Rochester, N. Y.
Carter, Albert F., State Normal School, Greeley, Colo.
Chace, Mr. Charles A., South Swansea, Mass.
Christie, J. Elmer, 292 S. Broadway, Nyack, N. Y.
Clark, Dr. Walter E., College of the City of New York, New York.
Congleton, Fred I., 2621 Broadway, New York.
Currier, Prof. Charles F. A., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston, Mass.
Coleman, A. T., 1222 James St., Waco, Texas.
Coulter, Dr. Stanley, Purdue University, Lafayette, Ind.

Das, Taraknath, 707 Thirteenth Ave., N., Seattle, Wash.
Davis, Hon. David, 513 Johnston Bldg., Cincinnati, O.
Davis, Rev. Ozora S., 81 Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
Day, Wilbur F., Morristown, N. J.
Dickerson, L. L., Iowa College Library, Grinnell, Iowa.
Dickey, Rev. J. J., Perryville, Ky.
Dillon, E. E., The Peace Society, 60 Queen St., Melbourne, Australia.
Dinwiddie, Rev. Edwin C., Bliss Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Douglas, Miss Alice May, Bath, Me.
Dow, Miss Caroline B., 3 Gramercy Park, New York.
Dudley, Carl Hermon, Port Allegany, Pa.
Duren, Miss Fanny, Waterloo Public Library, Waterloo, Iowa.

Estes, Dr. David Foster, Hamilton, N. Y.
Evans, Prof. Lawrence B., Tufts College, Tufts College, Mass.

Farrar, Harry A., Chester, Vt.
Fimmen, E. A., Mt. Pleasant, Iowa.
Fisher, Dr. Lewis Beals, Lombard College, Galesburg, Ill.
Flagg, Rufus C., Newport, Vt.
Forster, William, 59 Wall St., New York.
Forsythe, Rev. W. E., Benton, Scott Co., Mo.
Freeland, H. D., Brave, Greene Co., Pa.
Fry, Rev. Franklin F., 12 Grove St., Rochester, N. Y.

Gardiner, Prof. H. Norman, 23 Crafts Ave., Northampton, Mass.
Gaston, Dr. M. Adelaide, Cerro Gordo, Ill.
Gibbons, Rev. William F., Dunmore, Pa.
Gibson, C. B., Columbus, Ga.
Gilbert, Rev. William M., Vineland, N. J.
Goodrich, J. E., 483 Main St., Burlington, Vt.
Gordon, Miss Alys M., The Brooklyn Public Library, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Goree, James L., 1612 Olive St., Pine Bluff, Ark.
Greene, F. L., St. Albans, Vt.
Greeson, Hon. W. A., City Hall, Grand Rapids, Mich.
Grosvenor, Dr. Edwin A., Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.

Hamilton, Franklin, The American University, Washington, D. C.
Hammer, C. D., 85 Ford Pl., Pasadena, Cal.
Hardy, Rev. Edwin N., 15 Foster St., Quincy, Mass.
Hartley, Rev. Geo. N., Fountain City, Ind.
Hawley, Miss Emily C., Brookfield Center, Conn.
Hay, Thomas Robson, 219 Union St., Schenectady, N. Y.
Hayward, Dr. Edward, Cohoes, N. Y.
Healton, E. B., Whittier, Cal.

Hill, Albert C., 17 Chestnut St., Albany, N. Y.
Himes, Prof. John A., Gettysburg, Pa.
Hodder, Prof. F. H., University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kans.
Holmes, Prof. Jesse H., Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.
Holtzoff, Alexander, 301 West 139th St., New York.
Hostetler, John A., Canal Dover, O.
Howard, Mrs. Dora, Beulah, Colo.
Hunt, Harry E., 1421 Ford Bldg., Detroit, Mich.

Ihrig, Herbert G., Seattle, Wash.

Johnson, Rev. Walter N., Alexandria, La.
Jones, Chester Lloyd, Logan Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

Kelly, Prof. Raymond R., Ouachita College, Arkadelphia, Ark.
Ketcham, Alvin, Corning, O.
Killins, D. E., Marshville, Ontario, Canada.
King, Rev. David H., D. D., Vineland, N. J.
King, Joseph M., 145 Lewis Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Kirby, Paul L., Washington, D. C.
Kirchner, Otto, Detroit, Mich.
Kline, Rev. Marion J., D. D., 1407 Twelfth Ave., Altoona, Pa.

La Rowe, Eugene, Hancock, Mich.
Lawson, Rev. J. C., Kelton, S. C.
Lent, Rev. James M., South Windsor, Conn.
Lloyd, Rev. W. F., D. D., Huntington, W. Va.
Lochner, Louis P., 915 University Ave., Madison, Wis.
Long, Rev. Albert, Babylon, N. Y.
Loud, Ned C., 39 Dexter St., Medford, Mass.

M'Carty, Dwight G., Esq., Emmettsburg, Iowa.
M'Clure, Arnoldas H., Yuma, Ariz.
McDonald, J. G., 415 East 6th St., Bloomington, Ind.
Mackey, Ebenezer, Board of Education, Trenton, N. J.
Maier, Rev. Henry William, 33 Lexington St., New Britain, Conn.
Marvin, Miss Cornelia, Oregon Library Commission, Salem, Ore.
Mather, W. W., 744 N. Orange Grove Ave., Pasadena, Cal.
Maxwell, Prof. J. E., 1009 Rural St., Emporia, Kans.
Metzger, Rev. Fraser, Randolph, Vt.
Mills, Albert T., 1240 W. Macon St., Decatur, Ill.
Mils, Frank P., Esq., Hartford Bldg., Chicago, Ill.
Miner, William H., *The Republican,* Cedar Rapids, Iowa.
Morse, F. A., West Rutland, Vt.
Myers, Garry C., Sylvan, Pa.

Norton, Miss Helen S., Eustis, Fla.

Ochsner, A. H., 915 University Ave., Madison, Wis.
Ogilvy, Miss Jessie, Seattle, Wash.
Owens, Joseph P., Bluffton, O.

Parker, Le Roy, Buffalo, N. Y.
Parks, Charles, 307 N. Center St., Tyler, Texas .
Payne, Prof. Bruce R., University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.
Payne, Prof. Jason E., Vermillion, S. Dak.
Pearson, Samuel, Scranton, Pa.
Perris, Miss Marion, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
Perry, George A., *The Tribune,* Charlotte, Mich.

Prather, Rev. C. H., Lebanon, Ky.
Prestridge, Rev. J. N., D. D., 660 Fourth Ave., Louisville, Ky.

Quinby, Laurie J., 4916 Dodge St., Omaha, Neb.

Randall, R. W., Suffield, Conn.
Raymond, W. R., 932 Valley St., Burlington, Iowa.
Reeves, Rev. L. T., Columbia, Ky.
Reiner, Prof. Joseph, Sacred Heart College, Prairie Du Chien, Wis.
Rider, Harry A., 2245 Murray Hill Rd., Cleveland, O.
Riggan, Rev. G. Garland, Louisa, Ky.
Robertson, A. T., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky.
Robertson, James A., 2431 East 59th St., S. E., Cleveland, O.
Rogers, Lindsay, 516 Roland Ave., Baltimore, Md.
Rogers, Rovillus H., Jamestown, N. Y.
Roller, John E., Harrisonburg, Va.
Rowland, Hon. Eugene A., Rome, N. Y.
Rugg, Arthur P., Worcester, Mass.
Ruston, Rev. W. O., D. D., 24 W. Locust St., Dubuque, Iowa.

Sage, Rev. V. A., Clifton Springs, N. Y.
Scott, Homer Davis, 3671 S. Grand Ave., Los Angeles, Cal.
Scovel, Rev. S. F., D. D., Wooster, O.
Sheehan, Thomas W., 21 Cottage St., Natick, Mass.
Smith, Clarence E., Remsen, N. Y.
Smith, Frank O., Esq., 1st Ave. and 3d St., Tucson, Ariz.
Smith, Herbert U., Keithsburg, Ill.
Smith, Rev. I. A., Walsenburg, Colo.
Sprague, Dr. Homer B., 3000 S. Grand Ave., Los Angeles, Cal.
Spray, Mrs. Ruth H., Salida, Colo.
Stevens, Edward L., 500 Park Ave., New York.
Stillman, Dr. W. O., 287 State St., Albany, N. Y.
Stoever, William C., 727 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Stoner, Stanley, 409 Security Bldg., St. Louis, Mo.
Sutliff, Miss Phebe T., 234 High St., Warren, O.
Switzer, Rev. E. C., Barboursville, W. Va.

Taber, L. J., Barnesville, O.
Taylor, Thomas M., Moberly, Mo.
Thal, O. S., 507 South 6th St., Champaign, Ill.
Thomas, Mrs. Henry H., 720 Grape St., Vineland, N. J.
Thompson, Carl D., 344 Sixth St., Milwaukee, Wis.
Traver, Rev. Chester H., Berne, N. Y.

Veditz, C. W. A., George Washington University, Washington D. C.
Vosburgh, Rev. Homer, D. D., 474 26th St., Oakland, Cal.
Vradenburgh, Rev. Edgar S., West Rutland, Vt.

Whaley, C. F., 110 Olympic Pl., Seattle, Wash.
Whallon, Archer P., Stockbridge, Mich.
Whitehead, Mortimer, New Brunswick, N. J.
Wilber, Horace Z., Michigan State Normal College, Ypsilanti, Mich.
Wilcox, Prof. W. C., State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa.
Wiley, Edwin, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.
Williams, Henry G., Athens, O.
Winship, A. E., 29A Beacon St., Boston.
Wyman, Elwood T., Apponang, R. I.

Yoder, A. H., Tacoma, Wash.
Young, Edward C., 601 River St., Dayton, O.

APPENDIX B

Announcement of Second Pugsley Prize.

The Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration offers a prize of one hundred dollars for the best essay on "International Arbitration" by an undergraduate student of any American college or university.

Donor of the prize, Chester Dewitt Pugsley of Peekskill, N. Y.; Harvard '09; a member of the Conference.

Judges, Hon. Richard Bartholdt, M. C., President American Branch of the Interparliamentary Union; Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University; ——— .

Contest closes March 15, 1910.

Conditions of the contest: For the purposes of this contest the term "international arbitration" may be held to include any subject specifically treated in the "Conventions for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes" adopted by the first and second Hague Conferences, or in the "Draft Convention Relative to the Creation of a Judicial Arbitration Court" agreed to at the second Hague Conference.

The term "undergraduate students" applies only to those who, in a college or scientific school, are doing the work prescribed for the degree of bachelor, or its technical equivalent.

Essays must not exceed 5,000 words (a length of 3,000 words is suggested as desirable) and must be written, preferably in typewriting, on one side only of plain paper (ruled or unruled) of ordinary letter size (8 x 10 inches), with a margin of at least 1¼ inches. Manuscripts not easily legible will not be considered.

The name of the writer must not appear on the essay, which should be accompanied by a letter giving the writer's name, class, college and home address, and sent to H. C. Phillips, Secretary Lake Mohonk Conference, Mohonk Lake, N. Y., to reach him not later than March 15, 1910. Essays should be mailed flat (not rolled).

The award of the prize will be made at the meeting of the Mohonk Conference, in May, 1910, to which the winner will receive an invitation.

For additional information, references, etc., address the Secretary of the Conference.

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(Names of speakers in small capitals; titles of addresses and papers in italics.)